# THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

NUMBER 2 • NOVEMBER 1931

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PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

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THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

NUMBER 2 NOVEMBER, 1931

# Check List of English Newspapers and Periodicals before 1801 in the Huntington Library

COMPILED BY

ANTHONY J. GABLER

THE purpose of this check list is to enumerate for the convenience of students the resources of the Huntington Library in a particular field. The list is restricted to newspapers and periodicals published in England, Scotland, and Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It includes the early corantos and news-books which preceded the newspapers, but omits annuals, publications of societies, and ephemerides. A doubtful title has been inserted only if the evidence for insertion seems stronger than for exclusion. In all such cases a note has been added to show that the editor originally intended to publish more or less regularly, even if circumstances compelled him to abandon this intention.

The entry here given is always taken from the first number that is found in the Huntington Library, and, whenever the title changes, each change is listed separately provided that it is sufficient to affect the alphabetical arrangement of the list. Spelling and punctuation have followed modern usage as defined in the "Memoranda" of the *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, 1475–1640.*

When the place of publication is not given, London is to be understood. Unless the contrary is stated, the numbers listed are the original issues.

The names of printers, or other bibliographical data, are supplied only when the item is a reprint or when necessary to distinguish between entries with similar titles. The Huntington Library accession number is printed, at the right hand, after each entry.

**Account from Scotland** and London-derry of the proceedings against the Duke of Gordon.
No. 1, June 7 [1689]. 141409

**Account of the Bank of Credit** in the City of London.
No. 1 [1692?]. 125739
In the text the writer explains the purpose of "these papers," indicating a continuation.

**Account of the proceedings** of the meeting of the Estates in Scotland.
[No. 1, Mar. 15, 1689.] 134316
This number has 2 leaves, 12 pages.
Continued as "Continuation of the proceedings" [*q. v.*].

**Account of what passed** in the banqueting-house at White-Hall. *See:* "Continuation of the proceedings."

**Adventurer.** Printed for J. Payne. 1753–54.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–70, Nov. 7, 1752–July 7, 1753.
Vol. II, Nos. 71–140, July 10, 1753–Mar. 9, 1754. 110775

—— Philadelphia. Printed for Samuel F. Bradford . . . and John Conrad & Co. . . . H. Maxwell, Printer. 1803.
[Reprint of] Vol. I, Nos. 1–35, Nov. 7, 1752–Mar. 6, 1753. 118526

**Advice from Parnassus.**
Nos. 2–4, Jan. 26–Feb. 18, 1680 [1681]. 73418
No. 1 published as "News from Parnassus" [*q. v.*].

**Advice from Rome and Italy.** *See:* "Present state of Europe."

**American gazette.**
Nos. 1, 2, 1768. 86218

**Answer of the Convention** of Scotland. *See:* "Continuation of the proceedings."

**Anti-Jacobin;** or, Weekly examiner.
Prospectus and Nos. 1–36, Nov. 20, 1797–July 9, 1798. 139354
The "Prospectus" is a photostat of the original in the British Museum.

**Anti-Jacobin review** and magazine.
Vols. 1–19, July, 1798–Dec., 1804. 147113

**Anti-Roman pacquet;** or, Memoirs of popes and popery, for the conviction of Papists.
Nos. 5–21, Aug. 6–Nov. 26, 1680. 72785
Nos. 1–4 published as "New anti-Roman pacquet" [*q. v.*].
Continued as "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome" [*q. v.*].
The last leaf of each issue contains a section, unnumbered and undated, with caption-title, "Popes harbinger" [*q. v.*].

**Anti-theatre.**
Nos. 1–15, Feb. 15, 1719/20–Apr. 4, 1720. 106625
*In:* "Theatre, by Sir Richard Steele, to which are added the *Anti-theatre*" [*q. v.*].

**Aris's Birmingham gazette.** Birmingham.
Vol. IV, No. 166, Jan. 14, 1745. 180460

**Athenian gazette;** or, Casuistical mercury.
Vols. I–V. [Each volume contains Nos. 1–30, except that Nos. 29, 30 are missing from Vol. II and Nos. 15, 16 from Vol. III. Nos. 1–18 in each volume are dated consecutively throughout the five volumes, Mar. 17, 1690 (1691)–Jan. 30, 1691 (1692). Nos. 19–30 in each volume are undated. Each of Vols. I–II has a supplement, unnumbered and undated.] 80320
Vol. I, No. 1, has caption, "Athenian gazette"; Vol. IV, Nos. 21, 22, 27, and Vol. V, Nos. 20–27, 29, 30, have no caption; all the other numbers have caption, "Athenian mercury."
Each volume has a general title-leaf.

**Banks's currant intelligence.**
Nos. 2–4, Mar. 13–Apr. 3, 1680. 73419
No. 1 published as "Currant intelligence. . . . Printed for Allen Banks" [*q. v.*].

**Beauties** of all the magazines selected.
Vol. II, Feb.–Nov., 1763. 132112
Lacks everything before p. 49 and after p. 496.

**Bee, being essays** on the most interesting subjects.
Nos. 1–8, Oct. 6–Nov. 24, 1759. 125695

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[Same as above but with different setting of type.] 145284

**Bee;** or, Literary weekly intelligencer. Edinburgh. 1791–93.
Vols. I–XVIII, Dec. 22, 1790–Jan. 21, 1794. 5620
Date of imprint in last volume is "MDCCXCII," probably a misprint for MDCCXCIV.

**Bibliotheca literaria,** being a collection of inscriptions, medals, dissertations, &c.
Nos. 1–10, 1722–24. 25191

**Bingley's journal.**
No. 72, Oct. 12–19, 1771. 180459

**Briefe relation** of some affairs. *See:* "Letter of the King."

**Britaines remembrancer** of the most remarkable passages in both kingdomes.
No. 3, Mar. 26–Apr. 2, 1644. 73401

**Britanicus vapulans.**
No. 1 [Oct. 27, 1643?]. 141080
Continued as "Mercurius urbanus" [*q. v.*].
"Britanicus vapulans" is a reply to "Mercurius Britanicus," No. 9, Oct. 19–26, 1643.

**British champion.** *See:* "Champion."

**British chronicle.**
Vol. VII, No. 519, Nov. 10–12, 1760. 180452

**British chronicle;** or, Pugh's Hereford journal. Hereford.
Vol. X, Nos. 443–91, Jan. 21–Dec. 30, 1779.
Vol. XI, Nos. 492–539, Jan. 6–Nov. 30, 1780.
Vol. XII, Nos. 545–81, Jan. 11–Sept. 20, 1781. 91084

**British gazette** and Sunday monitor.
No. 121, July 14, 1782. 180474

**British librarian.** Printed for T. Osborne. 1738.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–6, Jan.–June, 1737. 23261

**British merchant.** Printed by John Darby. 1721.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–103, Aug. 3, 1713–July 30, 1714. 146385

**Briton.** Printed for J. Roberts. 1724.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–30, Aug. 7, 1723–Feb. 26, 1724. 64458

**Bulletins of the campaign.**
[Vol. 5, for the year] 1795. 57890
Caption-titles read, "Bulletin from the London gazette" or "Bulletin from the London gazette extraordinary."

**Bury and Norwich post;** or, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex advertiser. Norwich. Printed by P. Gedge.
No. 242, Feb. 21, 1787. 180475

**Cambridge intelligencer.** Cambridge.
No. 385, Nov. 29, 1800. 180476

**Catalogue of books** printed and published at London.
[Ser. II] Nos. 1–18, Easter term, 1670–Trinity term, 1674.
[Ser. III] Nos. 1–24, Michaelmas term, 1674–Trinity term, 1680.
[Ser. IV] Nos. 1–23, Michaelmas term, 1680–Easter and Trinity terms, 1686. 73416

Ser. I published as "Mercurius librarius" [*q. v.*].
There are other catalogues by Robert Clavel, in the Huntington Library, but only these term catalogues are listed.

**Catholick intelligence.**
Nos. 1–5, Mar. 1, 1679 [1680]–Mar. 29, 1680. 73417

**Censor**; or, Covent-Garden journal. Dublin.
Nos. 83–100, July 26–Nov. 22, 1753. 83116

Nos. 1–82 published as "Covent-Garden journal" [*q. v.*].

**Champion**: containing a series of papers, humorous, moral, political, and critical. Printed for J. Huggonson. 1741.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–94, Nov. 15, 1739–June 19, 1740. 123331

Began publication as "Champion; or, British mercury," was continued as "Champion; or, Evening advertiser," and then was changed to "British champion; or, The impartial advertiser."

**Chronological diary.** *See:* "Historical register. 1717[–1739]."

**Chronological register.** *See:* "Historical register. 1717[–1739]."

**Citizen**; or, The weekly conversation of a society of London merchants on trade.
Nos. 1–25, Feb. 9–July 27, 1739. 149184

*In:* Sir William Keith, *Collection of papers and other tracts.* (London: Printed by and for J. Mechell. 1740.)

—— Second edition. Printed for Jacob Loyseau. 1749. 143345

**City and countrey mercury.**
Nos. [2–4] 5–13, June 10–July 22, 1667. 73344

No. 1 published as "True character of *Mercurius urbanicus* & [*Mercurius*] *rusticus*" [*q. v.*].
Continued as "Mercury" [*q. v.*].

**City mercury.**
Nos. 22, 24, 26, 27 (2d impression), 32, 33, Aug. 19–Oct. 24, 1667. 73344

A continuation of "Mercury" [*q. v.*].
Published alternately with the "Country mercury" [*q. v.*].

**Colchester spie.**
Nos. 1, 2, [each dated] Aug. 10–17, 1648. 73402

**Collection of letters** for the improvement of husbandry & trade.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–15, Sept.–Nov., 1681; Mar.–July, Oct.–Dec., 1682; Jan.–Apr., 1683.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–5; Nos. [1, 2 undated] 3–5, Nov., 1683–Jan., 1683 [1684]. 125738

**Collection of the** *Occasional Papers*. *See:* "Occasional paper." (1716–18.)

**Comedian**; or, Philosophical enquirer.
Nos. 1–8, Apr.–Nov., 1732.
No. 9, [April?] 1733. 139556

**Compleat mercury**; or, The Haerlem courant.
Nos. 2, 3, Jan. 21–28 [1681]. 73345
No. 1 published as "Haerlem courant" [*q. v.*].

**Connoisseur.** Printed for R. Baldwin. 1755–56.
Nos. 1–140, Jan. 31, 1754–Sept. 30, 1756. 148620

—— Published by Jones & Company. 1826. 124399
Another edition, with same contents.

**Con-test.**
No. 24, Apr. 30, 1757. 131168

**Continuation of news** from that part of His Majesties fleet . . . at High-Lake near Chester.
No. 2, [licensed] Aug. 20, 1689. 141359

**Continuation of the actions,** passages, and occurrences . . . in the upper Germanie . . . till Aprill.
[No. 2] 1637. 41088
No. 1 published as "Principall passages of Germany, Italy, France, and other places" [*q. v.*]. Continued as "Diatelesma" [*q. v.*].

**Continuation of the German history.**
Fifth part, 1633. 59986
First four parts published as "Swedish intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Continuation of the inquest** after blood.
No. 2, Apr. 13, 1670. 68410

**Continuation of the narrative,** being the last and final dayes proceedings of the High Court of Justice.
No. 3, Jan. 29, 1648 [1649]. 58402
No. 2 published as "Continuation of the narrative, being the third and fourth days proceedings" [*q. v.*].

**Continuation of the narrative,** being the third and fourth days proceedings of the High Court of Justice.

No. 2, Jan. 25, 1648 [1649]. 58404, 87675

No. 1 published as "Perfect narrative of the whole proceedings" [*q. v.*].
Another issue of No. 2 in the Huntington Library has slightly different setting of type.
No. 3 published as "Continuation of the narrative, being the last and final dayes proceedings" [*q. v.*].

**Continuation of the politicks** of Europe; or, A rational journal.

Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9–11, [licensed] Aug. 28–Nov. 8, 1690. 33200

No. 1 published as "Politicks of Europe; or, A rational journal" [*q. v.*].

**Continuation of the proceedings** of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland.

Nos. 2–11, 13–147, Mar. 18, 1689–Oct. 18, 1690. 23091

No. 1 published as "Account of the proceedings" [*q. v.*].
No. 4 has title, "Answer of the Convention of Scotland."
No. 22 has title, "Account of what passed in the banqueting-house at White-Hall."
Another issue of No. 72 in the Huntington Library has different setting of type.
No. 2 begins with p. 13.

**Conventicle-courant.**

Nos. 1–17, 19–30; [Nos. 1–3 undated] Nos. 4–17, 19–30, Aug. 14, 1682–Feb. 14, 1682/3. 73415

**Copperplate magazine;** or, Monthly cabinet of picturesque prints . . . in Great Britain and Ireland.

Vols. I–V, Nos. 1–125 [1792–1802]. 180998

**Corante;** or, Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungarie, Poland, Bohemia, and France.

[Reprint of unnumbered issue] July 20 [1621]. 145458

This is No. 10 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Corante;** or, Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungarie, Spaine, and France.

[Reprint of unnumbered issue] July 9, 1621. 145458

This is No. 8 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Corante;** or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Bohemia, Spaine, and Dutchland.

[Reprint of unnumbered issue] Aug. 2, 1621. 145458

This is No. 12 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Corante;** or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, France, and Dutchland.

[Reprint of unnumbered issue] Aug. 10, 1621. 145458

This is No. 14 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Country journal**; or, The craftsman.
No. 113, Mar. 10, 1750.
No. 1133, Mar. 24, 1750. K–D 244

**Country mercury.**
Nos. 23, 25, 28, 32, Aug. 22–Oct. 17, 1667. 73344
A continuation of "Mercury" [*q. v.*].
Published alternately with "City mercury" [*q. v.*].

**County chronicle** and weekly advertiser for Essex, Herts, Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Berks.
No. 544, Nov. 6, 1798. 180477

**Courant.** *See:* "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome."

**Courant newes** out of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, &c.
[Reprint of three unnumbered issues] July 5, 9, 15 [1621]. 145458
These are Nos. 6, 7, 9 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Courant out of Italy** and Germany, &c.
[Reprint of four unnumbered issues] Sept. 6, 12, 18, 1621. 145458
These are Nos. 15–18 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Courant out of Italy,** Germany, &c.
[Reprint of five unnumbered issues] Dec. 2, 23, 1620, Jan. 21, Mar. 31, Apr. 9, 1621. 145458
These are Nos. 1–5 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Courier** and evening gazette.
No. 1758, Apr. 2, 1798. 180478

**Court miscellany,** in prose and verse. . . . To be continu'd occasionally.
No. 1, 1719. 97930

**Covent-Garden journal.** Dublin.
Nos. 1–82, Jan. 23, 1752–July 19, 1753. 83116
Continued as "Censor; or, Covent-Garden journal" [*q. v.*].

**Covent-Garden journal extraordinary.**
[One issue, unnumbered and undated.] 199886
*In:* "Spring-Garden journal" [*q. v.*].

**Covent-Garden journal extraordinary.**
No. 1, Jan. 20, 1752. 199881
This is a photostat.

**Covent-Garden magazine**; or, Amorous repository.
[Eleven numbers] Feb.–Dec., 1774. 131936
February number lacks everything before p. 53; December number lacks everything after p. 466; November number lacks title-leaf.

**Craftsman.** *See:* "Country journal; or, The craftsman."

**Craftsman**; or, Say's weekly journal.
No. 1492, June 7, 1788. 180497

**Crisis.** Printed and published by T. W. Shaw.
Nos. 1–91, Jan. 20, 1775–Oct. 12, 1776. 121164

—— New-York. Reprinted by John Anderson. 1776.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–28, Jan. 20–July 29, 1775. 9317

**Critical review.**
[Vol. I] May, 1756; Vol. II, Aug.–Dec., 1756; Vol. V, Apr., 1758; Vol. IX, Jan.–June, 1760; Vol. XII, July–Dec., 1761; Vol. XVII, June, 1764; Vol. LVII, Jan.–June, 1784; Vol. IX, N.S., Sept.–Dec., and appendix, 1793. 90211

**Currant intelligence.** Printed for John Smith.
Nos. 1–70, Apr. 26–Dec. 24, 1681. 73347

**Currant intelligence**; or, An impartial account of transactions. Printed for John Smith.
Nos. 1–9, Feb. 14–Mar. 13, 1679 [1680]. 73347
Continued as "Smith's currant intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Currant intelligence**; or, An impartial account of transactions. Printed for Allen Banks.
No. 1, Mar. 9–13 [1680]. 73419
Continued as "Banks's currant intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Current intelligence.** Printed by John Macock.
Nos. 1–24, June 4–Aug. 23, 1666. 73346

**Daily advertiser.**
No. 2901, May 9, 1740.
No. 13513, Apr. 13, 1774. 137121

**Daily gazetter.**
[Reprint, unnumbered] Nov. 21, 1737. 148752
*In: Common sense, its nature and use.* (Printed for T. Cooper. 1738.)

**Delphick oracle.** Sold by R. Willoughby.
[Unnumbered] Sept., 1719–Mar., 1720. 122025
Each of these monthly numbers, except the October number, has its own title-leaf, with imprint "Printed for and sold by J. Roberts."

**Democritus ridens;** or, Comus and Momus.
Nos. 1–13; [Nos. 1–3 undated] Nos. 4–13, Apr. 4–June 13, 1681. 73348
Nos. 7, 8 are both dated May 8, 1681.

**Devil.**
Nos. 1–13 [undated]. 104467
*Times Handlist*, p. 45, dates "1786–87." No. 1 is given the date "Oct. 2, 1786" in the Bodleian Library's *Catalogue of . . . early newspapers* (1865), p. 110.
No. 1 is "Third edition."

**Diary;** or, Woodfall's register.
No. 334, Apr. 22, 1790. 180480

**Diatelesma,** the modern history of the world . . . brought downe from Aprill.
Nos. 3, [4] 5, 1637–39. 53982, 53983, 60014
No. [4] has title, "Diatelesma, the second part of the moderne history . . . to Novemb. 1637."
No. 5 has title, "Diatelesma, the fifth part or number . . . continued from November, 1637."
No. 2 published as "Continuation of the actions, passages, and occurrences" [*q. v.*].

**Dilucidator;** or, Reflections upon modern transactions.
Nos. 1–3; No. 1 [dated, at end] Jan. 15, 1689 [Nos. 2, 3 undated]. 33215

**Diurnall occurrences;** or, Dayly proceedings of . . . Parliament, from the third of November, 1640, to the third of November, 1641. 123866
Entered in the *Times Handlist*, p. 20, as one of the volumes that preceded the news-books.

**Domestick intelligence;** or, News both from city and country impartially related. Printed for Tho. Benskins.
Nos. 1–155, May 13, 1681–Nov. 16, 1682. 72731

**Domestick intelligence;** or, News both from city and country. Published to prevent false reports. Printed for Benjamin Harris.
Nos. 1–55, July 7, 1679–Jan. 13, 1679 [1680]. 72729
Continued as "Protestant (domestick) intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Domestick intelligence;** or, News both from city & country. Published to prevent false reports. Printed by Nathaniel Thompson.
No. 16, Aug. 29, 1679.
No. 18, Sept. 5, 1679. 72730
Continued as "True domestick intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Domestick intelligence,** published gratis every Thursday for the promoting of trade. Printed for Benj. Harris. 1683.
Nos. 1–17 [undated]. 72723

**Dublin journal.** [Dublin.]
No. 873, Aug. 10–13, 1734. 143259
At head of title: "George Faulkner."

**Dunton's ghost** . . . by the unknown author of *Neck or nothing* . . . to be continued weekly.
No. 1 [Mar. 9, 1716]. 84220
Advertisement reads: "No. II will be publish'd Tuesday March, the 16th."

**Edinburgh evening courant.** Edinburgh.
[Two unnumbered issues] Oct. 20–23, 1759. 180633

**England's moderate messenger.**
Nos. 2–4, 6–10, Apr. 30–July 2, 1649. 73330

**Englands monitor;** or, The history of separation.
Nos. 1–3, Mar. 30–Apr. 13, 1682. 12199

**Englands remembrancer** of Lodons integritie.
Nos. 1, 2, 1647. 8210
Thomason copy, in British Museum, bears hand-written date, on title of No. 1, Jan. 14, 1646/7.

**English chronicle** and universal evening post.
No. 2725, Nov. 15–17, 1796. 180481

**English currant.** Printed for R. B.
Nos. 1–9, Dec. 12, 1688–Jan. 9, 1688/9. 73349

**English currant;** or, Advice domestick & forreign. Printed for Tho. Burrell.
No. 1, Sept. 8, 1679. 73350

**English gazette.**
Nos. 1–3, 6, 7, Dec. 22, 1680–Jan. 12, 1680 [1681]. 72738
Continued as "Westminster gazette" [*q. v.*].

**English Guzman;** or, Captain Hiltons memoirs.
Nos. 1, 2 [undated]. 73351
A. Andrews, *History of British journalism* (1859), I, 81, dates No. 1, Jan. 27, 1682/3.
Note at end of text in No. 2 reads, "Enough for a penny till next."

**English intelligencer.**
Nos. 1–8, July 21–Aug. 30, 1679. 68408

**English mercurie.**
July 23, 1588. 137012
A nineteenth-century reprint of one of the fictitious papers of which the original manuscripts are in the British Museum.

**Englishman.**
No. 46, Jan. 16–19, 1714.
No. 57, Feb. 15, 1714. 56922, 106626
Another copy of No. 57 in the Huntington Library has the word "Finis" added at end.

**Englishman, being the sequel** of the *Guardian*. Printed by Sam. Buckley. 1714.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–57, Oct. 6, 1713–Feb. 15 [1714]. 56168

**Epitome** of the weekly news.
Nos. 1, 2, Aug. 21–Sept. 4, 1682. 73414

**European magazine** and London review.
Vols. XIX [lacks first 16 pages], XXII, XXVI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV [only July, Nov. numbers], XXXVI [only Sept., Oct., Dec. numbers], Jan., 1791–Dec., 1799. 131892

**Europes transactions.** 1689.
No. 1 [undated]. 141375

**Evangelical magazine.**
[Unnumbered] Jan., Feb., 1799. 8051

**Evening mail.**
[Unnumbered] June 12/15, 1795. 180482
Printed logographically.

**Examiner.** Dublin. Printed by Cornelius Carter.
No. 12, Oct. 28, 1710. 143446

**Examiner.** Printed for James Roberts [Vol. I, Nos. 1–4]; for E. Griffis [Vol. I, Nos. 5–9]; by Edm. Powell [Vol. I, Nos. 10–56]; by G. Parker [Vols. II–III].
Vol. I, Nos. 1–56, July 23, 1714–May 14, 1715.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–34, May 14–Sept. 10, 1715.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–6, Sept. 10–Oct. 1, 1715. 149618

**Examiner**; or, Remarks upon papers and occurrences. Printed for John Morphew.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–52, Aug. 3, 1710–July 26, 1711.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–47, Dec. 6, 1711–Oct. 23, 1712.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–50, Oct. 23, 1712–May 16, 1713.
Vol. IV, Nos. 1–50, May 15–Nov. 27, 1713.
Vol. V, Nos. 1–50, Nov. 30, 1713–May 21, 1714.
Vol. VI, Nos. 1–19, May 21–July 26, 1714. 149617

**Express** and evening chronicle.
No. 517, Jan. 9–11, 1798. 180483

**Faithfull mercury.**
No. 1, July 21, 1679. 68409

**Faithful scout.**
No. 179, May 12–19, 1654. 12034

**Family magazine.** 1741.
Parts I, II [undated]. 131138

**Fifth and last part** of the wandring whore. *See:* "Wandring whore continued."

**First newspapers of England** printed in Holland, 1620–1621. A faithfull reproduction made from the originals, acquired in 1913, by the British Museum, London, and published . . . by W. P. Van Stockum, Jr. The Hague. 1914.
[Nos. 1–5.] Courant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Amsterdam. By George Veseler. Dec. 2, 23, 1620, Jan. 21, Mar. 31, Apr. 9, 1621.
[Nos. 6, 7, 9.] Courant newes out of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, &c. Amsterdam. By George Veseler. July 5, 9, 15 [1621].
[No. 8.] Corante; or, Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungarie, Spaine, and France. Amstelredam. By Broer Jonson. July 9, 1621.
[No. 10.] Corante; or, Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungarie, Poland, Bohemia, and France. Amstelredam. By Broer Jonson. July 20 [1621].
[No. 11.] Newes from the Low Countries. Altmore. Printed by M. H. July 29, 1621.
[No. 12.] Corante; or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Bohemia, Spaine, and Dutchland. Imprinted by Broyer Johnson. Aug. 2, 1621.
[No. 13.] Newes from the Low Countries; or, A courant out of Bohemia, Poland, Germanie, &c. Amsterdam. By Joris Veseler. Aug. 9, 1621.
[No. 14.] Corante; or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, France, and Dutchland. Imprinted at the Hage by Adrian Clarke. Aug. 10, 1621.
[Nos. 15–18.] Courant out of Italy and Germany, &c. Amsterdam. Printed by George Veseler. Sept. 6, 12, 12, 18, 1621. 145458
No. 1 has no title.
The dates all occur in the colophons.

**Flying-post;** or, Post-Master.
No. 3277, Sept. 27–30, 1712.
No. 5627, May 13, 1729. 143236

**Free Briton;** or, The opinion of the people. 1727.
No. 2 [undated]. 64835

**Free-holder;** or, Political essays. Printed for D. Midwinter . . . and J. Tonson. 1716.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–55, Dec. 23, 1715–June 29, 1716. 87291

**Freeholders journal.**
Nos. 1–24, 26–33, 37, Jan. 31, 1721 [1722]–Sept. 5, 1722. 89215
Nos. 8, 10, 17 are Friday supplements to the regular Wednesday issues, but are numbered and dated consecutively with the other numbers.

**Free-thinker.** Printed in the year 1722–23.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–159, Mar. 24, 1718–Sept. 28, 1719. 148500

**Friendly couriere,** by way of letters from persons in town . . . to be continued. 1711.
No. 1 [undated]. 81865

**Friendly debate** upon the next elections of Parliament.
No. 1 [undated (1687?)]. 134815
The text ends, "And so adieu for the present."
The catchwords, "Numb. 2," on the last page indicate a continuation of the work.

**Friendly intelligence.**
No. 2, Sept. 15, 1679. 68407

**Gazette,** comprising the sum of foreign intelligence.
No. 432, Sept. 2–9, 1658. 137016
This is one of the so-called fictitious newspapers printed sometime in the nineteenth century. It is really a partial reprint of materials in No. 432 of "Mercurius politicus" and concerns the death of Oliver Cromwell.

**Gazetteer** and new daily advertiser.
No. 16631, Apr. 2, 1782. 180484

**General advertiser** and morning intelligencer.
No. 602, Feb. 4, 1779. 180485

**General evening post.**
No. 6841, Nov. 1–4, 1777. 180486

**General history of Europe.** *See:* "Present state of Europe."

**General history of trade.**
[No. 1, Aug.] 1713. 135469

**General magazine.**
[Unnumbered] July, 1764. 90214
Caption-title for table of contents reads, "The contents of the six numbers which are already published."

**General magazine and impartial review.**
Vol. I, June 2–Dec., 1787; Vol. II, Jan. 2–Oct., 1788; Vol. III, Jan.–Dec., 1789. 145182

**Gentleman's journal;** or, The monthly miscellany.
[Unnumbered] Nov., 1692. 33489

**Gentleman's magazine;** or, Trader's monthly intelligencer.
Vols. I–LXX, 1731–1800.
[Also general index to 1818.] 199121, 199122, 199123
*Also have:*
(1) *Complete list of the plates and woodcuts . . . 1731 to 1818.* 1821. 199124
(2) *Bibliographical notes. A classified collection of the chief contents of the* Gentleman's magazine *from 1731 to 1868.* Edited by George Laurence Gomme. 1889. 23266
(3) *Index to the biographical and obituary notices in the* Gentleman's magazine, *1731–1780.* 1891. 19682

**Grub-Street journal.** *See:* "Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street."

**Guardian.** Printed for J. Tonson. 1714.
Nos. 1–175, Mar. 12–Oct. 1, 1713. 94521

—— Printed for Jacob and Richard Tonson. 1760.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–175, Mar. 12–Oct. 1, 1713. 147903

—— Edinburgh. Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid. 1754. 125303, 94500
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–175, Mar. 12–Oct. 1, 1713.
Vol. I is dated "MDCCLXIV," probably a misprint for MDCCLIV.
*Also have: General index to the* Spectators, Tatlers, *and* Guardians. Second edition. Sold by W. Owen. 1760.

**Guardian.**
No. 128, Aug. 7, 1713. 57025
*In: Letter from an English Tory . . . occasioned by the several reflections on Mr. Steele's* Guardian. (Printed by E. Smith [1713].)

**Haerlem courant.** *See:* "Paris gazette. Edinburgh."

**Haerlem courant** truly rendred into English.
No. 1, Jan. 16–17 [1681]. 73353
Continued as "Compleat mercury; or, The Haerlem courant" [*q. v.*].

**Have at you all;** or, The Drury-Lane journal.
No. 1, Jan. 16, 1752. 81068

**Heads of a diarie,** collected out of the journalls of both houses of Parliament.
No. 5, Dec. 26–Jan. 2, 1648[–1649]. 52215

**Heads of severall proceedings** in the present Parliament. Edinburgh. Reimprinted by R. Y. and E. T. 1641.
[Unnumbered and undated.] 76968
This is probably a reprint of the No. 1, Nov. 22–29, 1641, entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 20.

**Heraclitus ridens**; or, A discourse between Jest and Earnest.
Nos. 1–82; [No. 1 undated] Nos. 2–82, Feb. 6, 1681–Aug. 22, 1682. 73354
Another No. 6 in the Huntington Library has same date but entirely different text.

**Hermes straticus**; or, A scourge for *Elencticus*.
No. 1, Aug. 17, 1648. 73331

**Hermit**; or, A view of the world.
Nos. 1–30, Aug. 4, 1711–Feb. 23, 1711/12. 149619

**Hibernian magazine**; or, Compendium of entertaining knowledge. [Dublin.]
[Unnumbered] July–Dec., 1777. 124688
Number for July lacks everything before p. 481.

**Hippocrates ridens**; or, Joco-serious reflections.
Nos. 1–4, Apr. 26–May 17, 1686. 68406

**Historical and political mercury.** *See:* "Present state of Europe."

**Historical list** of horse-matches run. 1762, 1766.
Vol. XI, Mar.–Nov., 1761.
Vol. XV, Feb.–Sept., 1765. 137080

**Historical register.** 1724. 103411
Covers events from July, 1714, to Jan., 1716, and was published subsequent to the commencement of the "Historical register" (which is listed as the next item).

**Historical register.** 1717[–1739].
Vols. I–XXIII, Nos. 1–92, [issued quarterly] 1716–38. 103411
There is added to each number of Vols. II, III a "Chronological register," and to each number of Vols. IV–XXIII, a "Chronological diary." These extra parts all have separate title-leaves and pagination.

**Humours of a coffee-house.**
Nos. [1]–3, June 25–July 9, 1707. 85539

**Ideas of the original rights** of kings and governours coolly consider'd. *See:* "Occasional courant."

**Idler.** Printed for J. Newbery. 1761.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–103, Apr. 15, 1758–Apr. 5, 1761. 131388

**Impartial London intelligence.**
Nos. 1–4, Apr. 4–14 [1681]. 72736
Although this has its own numbering, it is really a continuation of "Protestant Oxford intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Impartial Protestant mercury.**
Nos. 5–115, May 9, 1681–May 30, 1682. 72732
Nos. 1–4 published as: "True Protestant mercury. Printed for H. V. and T. C. Published and to be sold by R. Janeway. 1681" [*q. v.*].

**Impartiall intelligencer.**
Nos. 1–3, 5–9, 11–18, Feb. 28–July 4, 1649. 72724

**Imperial magazine**; or, Complete monthly intelligencer.
Vols. II, III, Jan., 1761–Dec., 1762. 132124
Number for Dec., 1762, lacks all pages after 624.

**Independent Whig.** Printed for J. Peele. 1721.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–53, Jan. 20, 1720–Jan. 4, 1720 [1721]. 94523

—— Philadelphia. Sold by S. Keimer. [1724.] 11168

**Inspector.**
No. 2222 [undated]. 199886
*In:* "Spring-Garden journal" [*q. v.*].

**Inspector,** containing a concise and impartial collection of news, &c. *See:* "Student; or, The Oxford monthly miscellany."

**Intelligencer.** A perfect diurnal of some passages in Parliament and the daily proceedings of the army.
No. 288, Jan. 29–Feb. 5, 1648 [1649]. 137015
This is one of the so-called fictitious newspapers printed sometime in the nineteenth century. It is really a complete reprint of the text of No. 288 of "Perfect diurnall of some passages in Parliament and daily proceedings of the army" [*q. v.*].

**Intelligencer,** by the author of a *Tale of a Tub.* Printed for Francis Cogan. 1730.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–20. 147962
Second edition, the original having been published at Dublin, 1728–29.

**Intelligencer** published for the satisfaction and information of the people.
Nos. 1–18, Aug. 31–Dec. 28, 1663.
Nos. 1–102, Jan. 4, 1663 [1664]–Dec. 29, 1664.
Nos. 1–95, Jan. 2–Nov. 23, 1665.

Nos. 1–9, Dec. 2–28, 1665.
Nos. 1–9, Jan. 1–29, 1665 [1666]. 73398

After No. 18 of the series for 1664 and also of the first series for 1665, the even numbers are entitled, "Newes published for satisfaction and information of the people," except that, commencing with No. 69 of the latter series, it is the odd numbers that bear this title (the numbering omits 66–68 and uses 20 three times).

Nos. 1–18 of the 1663 series of the "Newes" [*q. v.*] were issued independently of the "Intelligencer."

The editor, Roger L'Estrange, in an unsuccessful attempt to change the title of the journal, published one number, Nov. 28, 1665, as "Publick intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Ipswich journal.** Ipswich.
No. 705, Aug. 15, 1752. 180487

**Irish courant.** *See:* "Ramble round the world."

**Jacobite's journal.**
Nos. 1–40, 42–49, Dec. 5, 1747–Nov. 5, 1748. 147371

This is a photostat.

**Jocular intelligence.** *See:* "Mercurius bifrons."

**Kingdomes faithfull and impartiall scout.**
Nos. 4, 5, 8–23, Feb. 16, 1648 [1649]–July 6, 1649. 73407

No. 5 has title, "Kingdoms faithfull scout."

**Kingdomes intelligencer.**
Nos. 1–53, Dec. 31, 1660–Dec. 30, 1661.
Nos. 1–52, Dec. 30, 1661–Dec. 29, 1662.
Nos. 1–34, Dec. 29, 1662–Aug. 24, 1663. 73408

**Kingdomes weekly intelligencer.**
No. 259, May 2/9, 1648.
No. 299, Feb. 13/20, 1648 [1649].
Nos. 301–18, Feb. 27–July 3, 1649. 73406

**Lady's magazine**; or, Entertaining companion for the fair sex.
Vol. VI, Dec., 1775.
Vol. X, Jan.–Dec., and supplement, 1779.
Vol. XXII, May–Dec., 1791. 132125

Vol. XXII lacks pp. 473–520 (portions of the numbers for Sept., Oct.).

**Letter of the King** sent to the Parliament of Paris.
No. 21, [licensed] Jan. 31, 1649 [1650]. 58050

This is No. 21, Feb. 5–12, 1650, of "Briefe relation of some affaires and transactions."

**Literary journal.** Dublin.
Vols. I–III, Oct., 1744–Mar., 1746. 97933

Published quarterly.

**Literary magazine** and British review.
Vols. II, III, Jan.–Dec., 1789. 132114
Vol. II lacks last leaf; Vol. III, everything after p. 466.

**Lloyd's evening post.**
Vol. XIII, Nos. 989, 1006, Nov. 11/14, Dec. 21/23, 1763.
Vol. XXVI, No. 1985, Mar. 23/26, 1770.
Vol. LII, Nos. 3988, 3989, 3996, 4000, 4002, 4004, 4008, 4032, 4033, 4045, 4052, 4061, Jan. 8–June 30, 1783.
Vol. LIII, Nos. 4062–67, 4069–71, 4075–88, 4092, 4093, 4095–4102, 4107, 4108, 4110–13, 4115–26, 4129, 4130, 4133–40, June 30–Dec. 31, 1783.
Vol. LIV, Nos. 4143–45, 4147, Jan. 5–16, 1784. 56194

**London chronicle**; or, Universal evening post.
Vol. XV, Nos. 1104, 1109, 1110, 1140, 1142, 1154, 1155, 1162, Jan. 17–June 2, 1764.
Vol. XXV, No. 1905, Feb. 28/Mar. 2, 1769.
Vol. XLVII, No. 3660, May 18/20, 1780.
Vol. LV, No. 4262, Feb. 21/24, 1784.
Vol. LVI, No. 4379, Nov. 20/23, 1784.
Vol. LVII, Nos. 4402, 4417, Jan. 13/15, Feb. 17/19, 1785.
Vol. LXIV, Nos. 4962, 5001, Aug. 14/16, Nov. 13/15, 1788. 73355, 4479
*Also have:* Volume containing 169 leaves excerpted from 73 numbers between Vol. LV, No. 4251, Jan. 3, 1784, and Vol. LXIV, No. 4999, Nov. 8, 1788. These excerpts consist of aeronautical news of all sorts. They, together with Vol. LV, No. 4262, bear the accession number 4479.

**London courant.**
Nos. 1–9, Dec. 12, 1688–Jan. 8, 1688 [1689]. 73356

**London courant.**
No. 306, June 23, 1746. 70008

**London courant,** morning gazette and daily advertiser.
[Unnumbered] Mar. 16, 1782. 180488

**London daily advertiser.**
No. 262, Jan. 2, 1752. 180489

**London evening-post.**
No. 2926, Aug. 5/7, 1746.
No. 9347, Mar. 9/12, 1782. 70505

**London gazette.**
Nos. 24–2517, 2519–3396, 3398–3411, 3413–3587, 3608–3950, 3952, 3953, 3956, 3958, 3959, 4039, 4082, 4084, 4086–4211, 4214–86, 4331, 4584, 4718, 4809–75,

4877–96, 4898–4961, 4964–5000, 5023, 8302, 8498, 8499, 8501–14, 8516–21, 8523–72, 8574–76, 8578–87, 8589–93, 8595, 8596, 8598–8601, 9505, 9818, 10251, 10260, 10381–86, 10390–96, 10398, 10400–408, 10410, 10411, 10413, 10418, 12722, 12775, 12818, 12838, 13020, 13048, 17133, 20183–300, Feb. 1, 1665 [1666]–Dec. 29, 1843. 72669

Nos. 1–23 were published at Oxford under title, "Oxford gazette" [*q. v.*].
*See also:* "Bulletins of the campaign."

**London gazette.**
[No. 85] Sept. 3/10, 1666. 137018

This is one of the so-called fictitious newspapers printed sometime in the nineteenth century. It reprints all the material in the original No. 85 of the "London gazette," with additional material not in the original, and concerns the Great Fire of London.

**London gazette extraordinary.** Printed by E. Owen.
[Unnumbered] Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30, Feb. 5, 6, 10 [2 issues], 13, 20, 1745 [1746]; Aug. 15 [2 issues], Oct. 9, 1746; July 2, Oct. 26, 1747; May 20 [2 issues], 1757; Aug. 18, 22, Oct. 31, 1758; Sept. 30, 1762; Aug. 24, 1778; June 15, 1780; Aug. 2, 1786. 72671

—— Printed by Edward Johnston.
No. 12775, Aug. 5/8, 1786; No. 13830, Nov. 12, 1795; No. 13842, Dec. 11, 1795; No. 13906, July 1, 1796; No. 14055, Oct. 16, 1797; No. 15023, May 29/June 2, 1798; No. 15065, Oct. 2, 1798; No. 15174, Sept. 3, 1799. 72671

No. 15023 has only 4 leaves (pp. 463–70).

**[London gazette supplement.]**
[Unnumbered] Jan. 30, Feb. 3, May 11, 1696; June 23, 29, 1743; May 1, 1744; Jan. 14, May 11, 1745; Apr. 26, 1746; June 27, 1747. 72672

**London intelligence.**
Nos. 1–5, 7–10, Jan. 15–Feb. 16, 1688/9. 73358

**London magazine.**
Vol. I, Apr.–Dec., 1732; Vol. X, 1741 [1742]; Vol. XXII, 1753; Vol. XXIV, 1755; Vol. XXVI, 1757; Vol. XXXII, 1763; Vol. XXXV, 1766; Vol. XXXIX, 1770; Vols. XL–LI, 1771–82; Vols. LII–LV (N.S., Vols. I–IV), July, 1783–June, 1785. 18390

Each volume in the first series, except Vol. I, contains 12 monthly numbers and an appendix; in the new series each volume has 6 monthly numbers.
Vol. XLIV lacks number for December, 1775; Vol. LIV lacks appendix, 1784.

**London mercury.** [No imprint.]
Nos. 1, 2, Jan. 6–27, 1669. 73360

**London mercury.** Printed for T. V. and published by Richard Baldwin.
Nos. 1–56, Apr. 6–Oct. 17, 1682. 73413
No. 5 has imprint, "Printed by R. Everingham for T. Vile"; numbers after 5 have merely "Printed for T. Vile."

**London mercury;** or, Moderate intelligencer. Printed by G. C.
Nos. 1–9, Dec. 15, 1688–Jan. 10, 1689. 73359
Sub-title of Nos. 7–9 reads "The orange intelligence."

**London packet;** or, New evening post.
No. 312, Oct. 23/25, 1771. 180490

**London recorder;** or, Sunday gazette.
No. 660, Mar. 31, 1793. 180491

**London spy.** Printed for J. Nutt.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–12, Nov., 1698–Oct., 1699.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–6, Nov., 1699–Apr., 1700. 144853

**London-spy.** Printed and sold by J. How. 1709. 148363
Fourth edition.

—— Printed for A. Bettesworth. 1718. 148364
Fifth edition.

**Looker-on,** a periodical paper. Philadelphia. 1796.
[Reprint of] Vol. I, Nos. 1–50, Mar. 10, 1792–Apr. 27 [1793]. 118506
No. 25 is dated June 2 [1792], and No. 26, Nov. 3, 1792. Publication was suspended during the interval.

**Lounger,** a periodical paper. Edinburgh.
Nos. 1–101, Feb. 5, 1785–Jan. 6, 1787. 57085

**Lover;** to which is added the *Reader*. Printed for J. Tonson. 1715.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–40, Feb. 25–May 27, 1714. 142138
The "Reader" [*q. v.*] has separate title and numbering, but the pagination is consecutive throughout the volume.

**Loyal impartial mercury.**
Nos. 1–46, June 9–Nov. 17, 1682. 73412
The last number is dated "1683" in the imprint — probably a misprint for 1682.

**Loyal intelligence;** or, News both from city & country.
Nos. 1–3, Mar. 16, 1679 [1680]–Mar. 31, 1680. 73357

**Loyal London mercury;** or, The currant intelligence.
Nos. 1–25, Aug. 19–Nov. 15, 1682. 137491
There is no change in title in this run of 25 numbers; the numbering and dates are consecutive throughout.

**Loyal London mercury;** or, The moderate intelligencer.
Nos. 1–20, June 14–Aug. 19, 1682. 73411
Continued as "Moderate intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Loyal Protestant.**
Nos. 1–247, Mar. 9, 1680/1–Mar. 20, 1682/3. 72730
No. 234 has date Nov. 16, 1682; No. 235, Feb. 20, 1683. In the text of these numbers the writer explains that he suspended publication because the authorities were displeased with the paper.

**Lucians dialogues** (not) from the Greek, done into English burlesque.
First part, Nos. [1]–10; Nos. [1]–8 [undated], 9, 10, Feb. 19, 26, 1684.
Second part, [unnumbered] 1684. 133758

**Lucubrations** of Isaac Bickerstaff. *See:* "Tatler."

**Man in the moon.**
Nos. [1]–3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15–18, 20–24, 26, 27, 30, 31, Apr. 16–Nov. 28, 1649. 73213

**Medleys** for the year 1711; to which are prefix'd the five *Whig-Examiners*. Printed by John Darby, and sold by Egbert Sanger. 1712.
[Reprint of *Medley*] Nos. 1–45, Oct. 5, 1710–Aug. 6, 1711, [and reprint of *Whig-Examiner*] Nos. 1–5, Sept.14–Oct. 12, 1710. 89248

**Memoirs** of the Society of Grub-Street. Printed for J. Wilford. 1737.
[Reprint of selections from Nos. 1–138 of the "Grub-Street journal," originally published Jan. 8, 1730–Aug. 24, 1732.] 94250

**Mercurio volpone;** or, The fox.
No. 1, Sept. 28–Oct. 5, 1648. 73214

**Mercurius academicus.** [Oxford.]
Nos. [2], 4–11, 14, Dec. 22, 1645–Mar. 16, 1645 [1646]. 73215

**Mercurius,** &c., not — veridicus, nor yet — mutus, but — cambro.
No. 2, Jan. 31–Feb. 6, 1644. 73216

**Mercurius anglicus.**
Nos. 1–3, Oct. 10–17, 1681. 73188

**Mercurius anglicus communicating intelligence** from all parts of the Kingdome of England.
No. 1, July 27–Aug. 3, 1648. 73218

**Mercurius anglicus;** or, A post from the North.
No. 1, Jan. 31–Feb. 7 [1644]. 73217

**Mercurius anglicus**; or, The weekly occurrences faithfully transmitted. Printed for Robert Harford.
Nos. 1–10, Nov. 13–Dec. 24, 1679. 72735
Continued as "True news; or, Mercurius anglicus" [*q. v.*].

**Mercurius anti-Britanicus.** [Oxford.]
[Nos. 1–3, Aug. 4–18, 1645.] 54013
*See* F. Madan, *Oxford books* (1912), II, 499.

**Mercurius anti-melancholicus**; or, Newes from Westminster.
No. 1, Sept. 18–24, 1647. 73341

**Mercurius anti-mercurius communicating all humours,** conditions, forgeries, and lyes of Mydas-eard newsmongers.
[No. 1?] Apr. 4, 1648. 73338
*See* J. B. Williams, *History of English journalism* (1908), p. 237.

**Mercurius anti-mercurius, impartially communicating truth,** correcting falshood. Printed for H. H. and R. J.
No. 1, Sept. 12–19, 1648. 73333

**Mercurius anti-pragmaticus.**
Nos. 2–5, Oct. 21–Nov. 18, 1647.
Nos. 16–17 [in one number], 18, 19, Jan. 13–Feb. 3, 1648. 73339

**Mercurius aquaticus.**
[No. 1] Aug. 4–11, 1648. 73340

**Mercurius aulicus,** a diurnal communicating the intelligence and affaires of the Court. Oxford. Printed by H. Hall for W. Webb.
[Ser. I] Nos. 1–3, supplement, 4–52, [Jan. 1]–Dec. [30], 1643.
[Ser. II] Nos. 1–31, 33–41, 43–45, Dec. 31, 1643–Nov. 9, 1644.
[Unnumbered] Jan. 5–12, 12–19, 26–Feb. 2, 2–9, 9–16, 23–Mar. 2, 2–9, 23–30, Apr. 6–13, 13–20, 20–27, 27–May 4, 4–11, 25–June 8, July 13–20, Aug. 10–17, 31–Sept. 7, 1645. 73409, 73410
Two additional unnumbered issues, Dec. 29–Jan. 5, Mar. 16–23, 1645, are listed in Madan, *op. cit.*, pp. 492–95.
Supplement to Ser. I, No. 1, has title, "True and briefe relation of the great victory obtained by Sir Ralph Hopton, neare Bodmin."

—— [London reprints.]
[Ser. I] Nos. 2–8, 10, 1643.
[Ser. II] Nos. 3–5, 20, 23, 32, 42, 46, 47, 1644. 73409
*See* Madan, *loc. cit.* He does not list the 1643 numbers.

**Mercurius aulicus againe communicating intelligence** from all parts. [No imprint.]
Nos. 1–6, 7–9 [in one number], 10–12 [in one number], 10–13 [in one number], 12–14 [in one number], 15, Jan. 25–May 18, 1648. 73404
The date in No. 6 is misprinted "1646."

**Mercurius aulicus communicating intelligence** from all parts of the Kingdome. Printed in the weeke in which the saints looke bleake. 1648.
Nos. [1]–3 [undated]. 73405
No. 3 has "21 Aug. 1648," in a contemporary hand.

**Mercurius aulicus (for King Charls II)** communicating intelligence from all parts.
Nos. [1]–3, Aug. 14–Sept. 4, 1649. 73400

**Mercurius bellicus;** or, An alarum to all rebels.
Nos. 1–7, 9–11, 14, 16–19, 21–24, 26, 27, Nov. 13, 1647–July 26, 1648. 73342

**Mercurius bifrons;** or, The English Janus.
Nos. 1, 2, 1681. 73361
*Times Handlist* (p. 31) dates Nos. 1–3, Feb. 10–Mar. 3, 1681.
Caption-title on verso of Nos. 1, 2 reads: "Jocular intelligence; or, News from heaven and hell."

**Mercurius Britanicus alive again.** Printed by T. B.
Nos. 1–13, May 16–Aug. 16, 1648. 73336
Nos. 2–12 have title, "Mercurius Britanicus giving a perfect accompt of the designes of the Royal Party through the Kingdom."
No. 13 has title, "Mercurius Britanicus stating the affaires of the Kingdome as they now stand."

**Mercurius Britanicus communicating the affaires** of Great Britaine. Printed by G. B. and R. W. [George Bishop and Robert White].
Nos. 1–5, 7–81, 83–97, 99–130, Aug. 23, 1643–May 18, 1646. 73329
No. 50 was issued Sept. 9, 1644; publication was then suspended until Sept. 30, 1644, when No. 51 was issued.

—— Printed according to order, for G. Bishop.
Nos. 27–29, Mar. 12–Apr. 1, 1644. 73329
Counterfeits of the paper having same title and with initials "G. B. and R. W." in imprint.

**Mercurius Britanicus giving a perfect accompt** of the designes of the Royal Party. *See:* "Mercurius Britanicus alive again."

**Mercurius Britanicus representing the affaires** of Great Britaine. Printed by B. W.
Nos. 1–3, June 17–June [July] 8, 1647. 73332

**Mercurius Britanicus stating the affaires** of the Kingdome. *See:* "Mercurius Britanicus alive again."

**Mercurius Brittanicus communicating his most remarkable intelligence** unto the Kingdome. [No imprint.]
No. 1, Mar. 31–Apr. 7, 1648. 73334

**Mercurius Brittanicus communicating intelligence** from all parts. [No imprint.]
Nos. 1–5, 7, Apr. 24–June 5, 1649. 73335

**Mercurius Catholicus.**
[Unnumbered and undated.] 73202
Entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 24, as No. 1, Sept. 15, 1648.

**Mercurius censorius**; or, Newes from the Isle of Wight.
No. 1, June 1, 1648. 73201

**Mercurius civicus.** Londons intelligencer.
Nos. 148, 149, Mar. 26–Apr. 9, 1646. 26113

**Mercurius civicus**; or, A true account of affairs both forreign and domestick.
Nos. 1–14, Mar. 22, 1679–May 6, 1680. 73191

**Mercurius clericus**; or, Newes from the assembly.
No. 1 [undated (1647)]. 73200
Entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 23, with date Sept. 25, 1647.

**Mercurius critticus.**
No. 1, Apr. 6–13, 1648. 73199

**Mercurius dogmaticus.**
No. 1, Jan. 6–13, 1648. 73198

**Mercurius domesticus** communicating intelligence concerning all affaires.
No. 1 [undated]. 73197
First page has date, "June 5, 1648," in a contemporary hand.

**Mercurius elencticus communicating intelligence** from all parts.
No. 69, Feb. 21–28, 1649. 73399

**Mercurius elencticus communicating the unparallell'd proceedings** at Westminster.
Nos. [1]–59, Oct. 29, 1647–Jan. 9, 1648 [1649]. 73210, 73399
Another issue of No. 36 in the Huntington Library has the same title, date, pagination, and register as the No. 36 in the set, but has a different text.

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No. 56, Feb. 6–13, 1648 [1649]. 73399
This is different from the No. 56 of the set listed in the preceding item.

**Mercurius elencticus communicating the unparallell'd proceedings** at Westminster.
No. 1, Jan. 31–Feb. 7, 1648 [1649]. 73211
Williams (*op. cit.*, pp. 200–210) reprints this number, and states in a note that he thinks this (the Burney copy) is the only one in existence.

**Mercurius elencticus communicating the unparralell'd proceedings of the rebbells** at West-minster.
Nos. 1–16, 19–27, Apr. 24–Nov. 5, 1649. 73210

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No. 1, Apr. 4–11, 1649. 73212

**Mercurius elencticus (for King Charls II.)** communicating intelligence from all parts.
Pars [2?], No. 1, Apr. 30–May 7, 1649. 73196

**Mercurius fidelicus.**
Nos. 1, 2, Aug. 17–31 [1648]. 73195

**Mercurius Gallicus.**
No. 3 [undated]. 73194
Entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 24, with date May 12, 1648.

**Mercurius honestus**; or, Newes from Westminster. Printed for R. G. 1648.
Nos. 1, 2 [undated]. 73193
No. 2 has imprint, "Printed for R. W."

**Mercurius impartialis**; or, An answer to that treasonable pamphlet, *Mercurius militaris*, together with the *Moderate*.
No. 1, Dec. 5–12, 1648. 73192

**Mercurius infernus**; or, News from the other world.
Nos. 1–5 [undated (1680)]. 73189

**Mercurius insanus, insanissimus.** 1648.
Nos. 2, 3 [undated]. 73206
No. 2 has date, "27 Martij 1648," and No. 3, "17 Ap$^{ll}$ 1648" — each in a contemporary hand.

**Mercurius librarius**; or, A catalogue of books.
[Ser. I] Nos. 1–8, Michaelmas term, 1668–Midsummer term, 1670. 73190
This is the first of the five series of quarterly-term catalogues that were published regularly from 1668 to 1709. With the second series, the title was changed to, "Catalogue of books printed and published at London" [*q. v.*].

**Mercurius medicus**; or, A soveraign salve for the cureing madmen and fools.
No. 2, Oct. 15–22, 1647. 73207

**Mercurius melancholicus communicating the generall affaires** of the Kingdome.
Nos. 1, 3, Dec. 25/Jan. 1, Jan. 5/12, 1649. 73220

**Mercurius melancholicus, for King Charles the Second.**
Nos. 1, 2, May 24–June 7, 1649. 73221

**Mercurius melancholicus**; or, Newes from Westminster and other parts.
Nos. 1–36, 38–45, 47–56, 58, 59, Sept. 4, 1647–Oct. 9, 1648. 73222, 73223
Nos. 1 and 2 are both dated Sept. 4–11, 1647.
Nos. 37 and 57 are omitted in the numbering, and the date Sept. 4–11, 1648, is omitted, but otherwise the numbering and dates are consecutive.
The following numbers (in the Huntington Library), with differences in dates, text, or pagination, do not belong to the set and are usually listed as counterfeits: 1, 3, 4 (2 issues), 45, 46, 48, 52, and 58–62 (in one number).

**Mercurius melancholicus**; or, Newes from Westminster and the head quarters.
No. 1, July 21–28, 1648. 73219

**Mercurius militaris** communicating intelligence from the saints militant dissembled at Westminster.
No. 1, Apr. 21–28, 1648. 73203

**Mercurius militaris**; or, The armies scout.
No. 2, Oct. 10–17, 1648. 31114
Text begins with some undated news and continues with articles dated from Oct. 18 to 23, 1648.

**Mercurius militaris**; or, The people's scout.
Nos. 1–3; Nos. 1, 2, Apr. 17–May 1, 1649 [No. 3 undated]. 73204
Another issue of No. 2 in the Huntington Library is undated but has the same text as the one in the set.
At head of title of Nos. 1, 2, "Of the Parliament's second purge."
At head of title of Nos. 2 (undated issue), 3, "After the Parliament's second purge."

**Mercurius militaris**; or, Times only truth-teller.
No. 1, May 22–29, 1649. 73205

**Mercurius morbicus**; or, Newes from Westminster. 1647.
Nos. 1–3 [in one number, undated]. 73208

**Mercurius poeticus** discovering the treasons of a thing call'd Parliament.
No. 1, May 5–13, 1648. 73209

**Mercurius politicus comprising the sum of foreign intelligence.** Edinburgh. Reprinted by Christopher Higgins. 1660.
[Unnumbered] Feb. 3/9, 1660. 83133
This does not reprint the text of the original "Mercurius politicus."

**Mercurius politicus comprising the summ of all intelligence.**

Nos. 1–72, 74–78, 80, 81, 83–93, 95–98, 100–109, 112–21, 123–25, 127–32, 134–65, 221–615, June 6, 1650–Apr. 12, 1660. 81694, 70847

In the numbering, 136, 584, and 592 are used twice, and 366, 378, 446–544 are omitted, but the dates are consecutive.

No. 155 is wrongly numbered 153; No. 361, 307; Nos. 573–75 are wrongly numbered 276–78; Nos. 576–91, 579–92 (579 having been dropped from Nos. 576–91).

**Mercurius pragmaticus communicating intelligence** from all parts.

[Ser. I] Nos. 1–28, Sept. 14 [1647]–Mar. 28, 1648.

[Ser. II] Nos. 1–31, 32–33 [in one number], 34, 35, 36–37 [in one number], 38–45 [regular No. 43 omitted, but No. 42 covers two weeks], 43, 44–45 [repeated in the numbering], 46–53, Mar. 28, 1648–May 8, 1649. 72944

In the first series, there are additional issues of Nos. 6, 7, 10, 11, 16. In each case the text is the same as that of the copy in the set, except for an occasional alteration of a minor nature, but the setting of type is different.

The following additional numbers, with differences in dates, text, or pagination, do not belong to the set and are probably counterfeits: Ser. I, Nos. 2, 9, 10, 11; Ser. II, Nos. 20–22, 38, 39, [51, 52].

**Mercurius pragmaticus, for King Charls II.**

Nos. 1, 2, Sept. 10–24, 1649. 72943

**Mercurius pragmaticus (for King Charles II).**

2 Pars, Nos. 1–14, 17, 19–30, Apr. 17–Nov. 27, 1649. 72943

Additional copies of Nos. 4–10 in the Huntington Library have same title, dates, etc., but an entirely different text; they do not belong to the set and are probably counterfeits.

**Mercurius psitacus;** or, The parroting mercury.

Nos. [2]–7, 9, June 14–Aug. 7, 1648. 72942

**Mercurius publicus, being a summary** of the whole weeks intelligence. Printed for J. How.

No. 1, Feb. 21–28, 1679 [1680]. 72940

Probably continued under title given in next item.

**Mercurius publicus, being a brief summary** or rehearsal of the whole weeks intelligence. Printed, 1680.

No. 2, Mar. 18, 1679 [1680]. 72940

Probably a continuation of the above. A note at the beginning of the text speaks of a previous paper, "which for some Reasons was intermitted the last Week."

**Mercurius publicus communicating emergent occurrences.**

Nos. 1–3; [Nos. 1, 2 undated] No. 3, May 22–29, 1648. 72941

**Mercurius publicus comprising the sum of forraign intelligence.**

[Ser. I] Nos. 15–53, Apr. 5, 1660–Jan. 3, 1661.

[Ser. II] Nos. 1–53, Jan. 3, 1661–Jan. 2, 1661 [1662].
[Ser. III] Nos. 1–52, Jan. 2, 1661 [1662]–Jan. 1, 1662 [1663].
[Ser. IV] Nos. 1–33, Jan. 1, 1662 [1663]–Aug. 20, 1663. 72945

In the first series, Nos. 52, 53 are wrongly numbered 53 and 54, respectively; in the second series, 43 is omitted in the numbering although the dates are consecutive.

—— Edinburgh. Re-printed by Christopher Higgins.
[Unnumbered] May 16/23, 1660. 83206

This reprints the text of the original No. 20, with some additional material.

**[Mercurius reformatus.]** An appendix to *Mercurius reformatus*; or, The new observator. 1692.
[One issue, unnumbered and undated.] 134680

**Mercurius republicus.**
No. 1, May 22–29, 1649. 72561

**Mercurius rusticus containing news** from the severall counties of England.
[Unnumbered and undated.] 72560

Probably the same as the No. 1, Nov. 12, 1647, entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 23.

**Mercurius rusticus**; or, The countries complaint of the barbarous out-rages committed . . . from the beginning of this unnaturall warre, to the 25 of March, 1646. [Oxford.] 1646.
Part I, Nos. 1–18, and Part II, Nos. 1–4 [undated]. 147483

Reprints the original 21 numbers, dated May 20, 1643–Mar. 16, 1644, with an additional number, Part I, No. 18.

With this are bound and issued: (1) *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (1646); (2) *Mercurius Belgicus* (1646). For complete details, see Madan, *op. cit.*, pp. 430–32.

—— London. Printed for Richard Green. 1685. 147459

—— London. Printed for R. Royston. 1685. 147458

Third collected edition.

**Mercurius Scoticus.**
No. 1 [undated]. 72647

*Times Handlist*, p. 24, dates this July 19, 1648; the dates in the text are July 2, 4, 1648.

**Mercurius urbanicus**; or, Newes from London and Westminster.
[Unnumbered] May 2–9, 1648. 72648

Entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 24, as No. 1.

**Mercurius urbanus.**
No. 2 [Nov. 3 ?, 1643]. 141080

A reply to "Mercurius Britanicus," No. 10, Oct. 26–Nov. 2, hence the date is about Nov. 3. No. 1 published as "Britanicus vapulans" [*q. v.*].

**Mercurius vapulans.** 1647.
[Two issues, unnumbered and undated.] 72650
No. 1 entered in *Times Handlist*, p. 23, with date Nov. 27, 1647.

**Mercurius veridicus communicating intelligence** from all parts of Great Britaine.
Nos. 1, 3, Apr. 14/21, Apr. 27/May 8, 1648. 72649

**Mercurius veridicus communicating the best and truest intelligence** from all parts of England.
No. 1, Jan. 7, 1681. 72652

**Mercurius veridicus;** or, True informations.
No. 2, Apr. 19–26, 1645. 200757

**Mercury** publishing advertisements of all sorts.
Nos. 14–21, July 22–Aug. 19, 1667. 73344
Nos. 2–13 published as "City and countrey mercury" [*q. v.*].
Continued as "City mercury" [*q. v.*].

**Meteors.**
Nos. 1–12 [Nov. 30 (1799)–May 3 (1800)]. 137275
Published fortnightly.
See *British Museum Catalogue*, "Periodicals," Supplement (London), Col. 887.

**Microscope;** or, Minute observer. [Belfast.]
Vol. II, No. 8, Aug., 1800. 121465

**Midwife;** or, The old woman's magazine.
Nos. [1]–6 [undated (1751)]. 139600

**Minuts of the proceedings** in Parliament. Edinburgh.
Nos. 1–86, Oct. 3, 1706–Mar. 19, 1707. 84645

**Mirror.**
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–55, Jan. 23, 1779–Aug. 3 [1779]. 132113
Edition undetermined.
Lacks title-leaf.

**Mirror,** a periodical paper. London. Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell [London] . . . and W. Creech at Edinburgh. 1781.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–110, Jan. 23, 1779–May 27, 1780. 149704
Third edition, corrected.

**Miscellaneous antiquities** . . . to be continued occasionally. 1772.
Nos. 1, 2 [undated]. 141261, 141262

**Moderate** impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdom of England. Printed for R. W. [Robert White].
Nos. 32–51, Feb. 13–July 3, 1649. 72596

**Moderate intelligence** impartially communicating martial affairs to the Kingdom of England. Printed for Robert White.
No. 2, May 24–31, 1649. 72595

**Moderate intelligencer.** Printed for R. Robinson.
Nos. 21–37, Aug. 19–Oct. 23, 1682. 72658
Note at head of text in No. 22 explains that this is a continuation of "Loyal London mercury; or, The moderate intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Moderate intelligencer impartially communicating martiall affairs** to the Kingdom of England. Printed for R. Leybourn.
Nos. 205–24, Feb. 15–July 5, 1649. 72594

**Modern history of the world** . . . since the beginning of this present yeere 1635. Divided into three sections.
Eighth part. 1635. 21169
This is the eighth part of the "Swedish intelligencer" [*q. v.*].
After this number another series was started, which is sometimes listed as a continuation of the "Modern history of the world" and has the title, "Principall passages of Germany" [*q. v.*].

**Modern history**; or, The monthly account of all considerable occurrences.
Nos. 1, 2, Oct., Nov., 1688. 33217
Caption-title in No. 2 reads, "The monethly account."

**Modest narrative of intelligence.**
Nos. 1–14, Apr. 7–July 7, 1649. 72651

**Monethly account.**
No. 11, Aug. [1688]. 33217

[**Monitor.**] An entire set of the *Monitors*, intended for the promoting of religion and virtue . . . by M. Smith. Printed for the author [1715?].
[Unnumbered and undated.] 106616
Second edition, reprinting the original 21 numbers issued in 1713.

**Monitor**; or, British freeholder. Printed for J. Scott. 1756.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–52, Aug. 9, 1755–July 31, 1756. 73494

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[Reprint of] Nos. 52, 53. 138702
*In:* [John Shebbeare] *A fourth letter to the people of England . . . to which are added numbers LII and LIII of the* Monitor. (London: Printed for M. Collier. 1756.)

**Monthly chronicle.**
Vols. I–V, Jan., 1728–Mar., 1732. 148724
Each of Vols. I–IV has 12 monthly numbers and an appendix.

**Monthly magazine** and British register.
Vol. II, Nos. 6–12, July–Dec., 1796.
Vol. IV, Nos. 20–26, July–Dec., 1797. 83018
Nos. 12 and 26 are supplementary numbers, following the December number in each case.

**Monthly mask of vocal music.**
[Unnumbered] Jan.–Dec., 1704. 13558

**Monthly recorder.**
Nos. 1–5, Dec. 1, 1681–May 1, 1682. 72657

**Monthly review. A periodical work.**
Vol. I, May, 1749.
Vol. LVIII, Jan.–June, and appendix, 1778. 131891
Number for May, 1749, lacks everything after p. 50.

**Monthly review;** or, Literary journal enlarged.
Vol. II, May–Aug., and appendix, 1790.
Vol. XVII, May–Aug., and appendix, 1795.
Vols. XXII, XXIII, Jan.–Aug., and [in each volume] appendix, 1797.
Vols. XXVIII, XXIX, Jan.–Aug., 1799.
Vol. XXXIII, Sept.–Dec., 1800. 131891
Vols. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIII lack title-leaves.

**Morning chronicle.**
No. 3657, Feb. 6, 1781.
No. 7769, Sept. 4, 1794. 137932

**Morning herald** and daily advertiser.
No. 533, July 15, 1782. 180492

**Morning post** and daily advertiser.
No. 1949, Jan. 13, 1779. 180493

—— [New York and Mount Vernon. Reprinted by William Edwin Rudge. 1929.]
No. 1190, Aug. 17, 1776. 127383

**New anti-Roman pacquet;** or, Memoirs of popes and popery since the tenth century.
Nos. 1–4; [No. 1 undated] Nos. 2–4, July 16–30, 1680. 72785
Preceded by "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome" [*q. v.*].
Continued as "Anti-Roman pacquet" [*q. v.*].
The last leaf of each number contains an undated and unnumbered section with caption-title, "Popes harbinger."

**New dialogue** between somebody and nobody.
Nos. 1–5, Nov. 25–Dec. 19, 1681. 72653

**New female spectator.**
Nos. 1–3 [undated]. 199886
*In*: "Spring-Garden journal" [*q. v.*].

**New heraclitus ridens**; or, An old dialogue between Jest and Earnest revived.
Nos. 1, 2, May 24–31, 1689. 68405

**New news-book.**
No. 1, Apr. 23, 1681. 72656

**New tydings out of Italie** are n[o]t yet com. *See:* "Courant out of Italy, Germany, &c."

**Newes** from the Low Countries.
[Reprint of unnumbered issue] July 29, 1621. 145458
This is No. 11 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Newes from the Low Countries**; or, A courant out of Bohemia, Poland, Germanie, &c.
[Reprint of unnumbered issue] Aug. 9, 1621. 145458
This is No. 13 in "First newspapers of England" [*q. v.*].

**Newes published for satisfaction and information of the people.**
Nos. 1–18, Sept. 3–Dec. 31, 1663. 73398
After these eighteen numbers, the "Newes" was published alternately with the "Intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Newes published for the satisfaction & information of the people.**
No. 52, July 6, 1665. 137017
This is one of the so-called fictitious newspapers printed sometime in the nineteenth century. It is a partial reprint of material in the original "Newes," which was published alternately with the "Intelligencer" [*q. v.*]. Some additional material occurs in this reprint, probably taken from contemporary sources; the text concerns the Plague of London.

**News from Parnassus.**
No. 1, Jan. 27/Feb. 2, 1680 [1681]. 73418
Continued as "Advice from Parnassus" [*q. v.*].

**News from the land of chivalry.**
Nos. 1–3 [undated]. 72655
*Dictionary of National Biography* (XI, 1002–1003) states that 24 numbers were announced but only 3 appeared, the first dated Feb. 21, 1681.

**News letter.**
Nos. 1–10, Jan. 7–Mar. 10, 1716. 180369

**Norfolk chronicle;** or, The Norwich gazette. Norwich.
Vol. XVI, No. 296, June 11, 1785. 180494

**North British weekly magazine.** Edinburgh.
Nos. 1–13, Oct. 16, 1782–May 28, 1783. 132111

**North Briton.** [London, 1763.]
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–46, June 5, 1762–Nov. 12, 1763. 124148

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[Reprint of] No. 45. 146969
*In: An authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes. . . . Also the* North Briton, *No. 45, being the paper for which Mr. Wilkes was sent to the Tower.* (London, printed. Philadelphia. 1763.)

**North Briton extraordinary.** Published at Edinburgh. London. Reprinted for W. Nicoll. 1765.
[Unnumbered] Feb. 5, 1765. 84157

**North Briton extraordinary, written by a young Scotsman,** now a volunteer in the Corsican service. Corte. 1769.
[One issue, unnumbered and undated.] 45346
In the text the writer refers to the "North Briton" as the predecessor of this journal.

**Norwich gazette.** Norwich.
Vol. XXVI, No. 1331, Apr. 1/8, 1732. 180453

**Norwich mercury.** Norwich. Printed by William Chase.
[Unnumbered] Feb. 5/12, 1731/2.
No. 1059, Aug. 4, 1770. 180473
These two numbers may, or may not, belong to the same run.

**Nose,** a periodical publication.
Nos. [1]–6, Jan.–June, 1800. 146214

**[Novelist's magazine.]** 1780.
Vol. I [undated]. 148622

**Observator.** *See:* "View of the times . . . 1708."

**Observator in question and answer.**
Vol. I, Nos. 1–388, 390–401, 403, 404, 407–29, 432–70, Apr. 13, 1681–Jan. 9, 1683 [1684].
Vol. II, Nos. 1–215 [Nos. 1–3 are numbered 471–73], Jan. 10, 1683 [1684]–Feb. 7, 1684/5.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–246, Feb. 11, 1684/5–Mar. 9, 1686/7. 72673

**Observator observ'd.**
Nos. 1–3; No. 1, May 6, 1681 [Nos. 2, 3 undated]. 72654

**Observator, Tory, Trimmer, Whig, Nobs, Mob.**
No. 1 [undated (1688?)]. 72659

**Observator's tryal and defence.** *See:* "View of the times . . . 1708."

**Occasional courant.** 1717.
Nos. 1–6 [undated]. 64303
General title-leaf reads, "Ideas of the original rights of kings and governours coolly consider'd."

**Occasional paper.**
Vol. I, Nos. 1–3, supplement to No. 3, 4–12, 1716.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–12, 1717–18.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–12, 1718–19. 73495
Made-up set, with an additional title-leaf in each of Vols. I, II, reading, "A collection of the *Occasional papers.*"
Vol. I, No. 1, and Vol. II, No. 9, are designated, "Second edition."

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Vol. I, Nos. 1–3, 5, 6, 1716. 64321
Original numbers.

—— Printed for Em. Matthews . . . J. Roberts . . . and A. Dodd. 1719.
Vol. III, No. 9, 1718. 33514

**Occasional paper** . . . containing an account of the author's design. 1697–98.
Nos. 1–10 [undated]. 80874

**Occasional writer.** 1727.
Nos. 1–3 [undated]. 56872
No. 2 is "Second edition."

**Occasional writer: Numb. IV** containing a conversation on the present crisis. 1738.
No. 4 [undated]. 65078

**Old Whig.**
No. 1, [Mar. 19] 1719. 97951

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Nos. 1, 2, Mar. 19–Apr. 2, 1719. 147904
*Reprinted in:* "Town talk" [*q. v.*].

**Opposition,** to be published occasionally. 1755.
[One issue, unnumbered and undated.] 88455

**Oracle.** Bell's world.
No. 563, Mar. 18, 1791. 180471

**Orange gazette.**
Nos. 1–8, 11–17, Dec. 31, 1688–Mar. 5, 1689. 72870

**Oratory transactions** . . . to be occasionally publish'd. 1728.
No. 1 [undated]. 79768

**Original Ipswich journal.** Ipswich.
No. 1880, Dec. 17, 1774. 180470

**Oxford gazette.** Oxford. Printed by Leonard Lichfeild.
Nos. 2–21, Nov. 16, 1665–Jan. 25, 1665 [1666]. 72669

—— Re-printed at London [by Thos. Newcomb].
Nos. 1–23, [Nov. 13, 1665–] Feb. 1, 1665 [1666]. 72669, 72670

**Pacquet of advice from Rome;** or, The history of popery.
Vol. I, No. 1, Dec. 3, 1678. 72785
Continued as "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome" [*q. v.*].
Last leaf contains a section having same date as above, with caption, "Popish courant."

**Paris gazette.** [No imprint.]
[One issue, unnumbered and undated (1704?).] 68404

—— Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson.
No. 1 [undated (1706)]. 201112
The last leaf contains an undated section with caption, "Haerlem courant. Numb. 1."
This is a photostat of the copy in the British Museum.

**Parliament-kite.**
Nos. 1, 2–3 [in one number], 4–15, May 10–Aug. 31, 1648. 72868

**Parliament-porter;** or, The door keeper of the House of Commons.
Nos. 1–4, Aug. 28–Sept. 25, 1648. 72867

**Parliamentary chronicle.** *See:* "Senator."

**Parliamentary intelligencer.**
Nos. 15–53, Apr. 2–Dec. 31, 1660. 73403
Preceded by "Publick intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Parliaments scrich-owle.** 1648.
Nos. 1–3 [undated]. 72866

**Parliaments vulture.**
No. 1, June 15–22 [1648]. 72865

**Perfect diurnall of some passages in Parliament** and daily proceedings of the army.
No. 261 [really 264], July 24–31, 1648.
No. 288, Jan. 29–Feb. 5, 1648 [1649]. 26115
No. 288 is a photostat of the copy in the British Museum.
Reprint of No. 288 occurs in "Intelligencer. A perfect diurnal" [*q. v.*].

**Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament.**
No. 1, June 13–20, 1642. 72864

**Perfect narrative** of the whole proceedings of the High Court of Justice.
[No. 1] Jan. 23, 1648 [1649]. 87676
Continued as "Continuation of the narrative" [*q. v.*].

**Perfect weekly account.**
[Twenty unnumbered issues] Feb. 14, 1648 [1649]–July 4, 1649. 72875

**Philosophical collections.**
Nos. 1–7. No. 1, 1679; No. 2, 1681; Nos. 3–7, Dec. 10, 1681–Apr., 1682. 132573

**Plebeian.**
Nos. 1–4, Mar. 14–Apr. 6, 1719. 147904
*Reprinted in:* "Town talk" [*q. v.*].

**Political magazine** and parliamentary, naval, military, and literary journal.
Vol. I, preliminary number and Jan.–Dec., 1780.
Vol. III, Mar., 1st supplement, Apr., May, Oct., 1782.
Vol. VI, Jan.–June, 1784.
Vol. X, Jan.–June, 1786.
Vol. XIII, July–Dec., 1787.
Vols. XVIII, XIX, Jan.–Dec., 1790. 111595
Lacks everything after p. 788 in Vol. I, and after p. 382 in Vol. XIX; also folded plates in Vol. III, numbers for Mar., Apr., Oct.

**Political register.**
Vol. III, Nos. 19–22, Oct.–Dec., 1768; Vol. IV, Jan. [only], 1769. 86041

**Political state of Great Britain.**
[Unnumbered] Feb., May, 1711. 106545, 147025

**Politicks of Europe;** or, A rational journal.
No. 1, [licensed] July 2, 1690. 33200
Continued as "Continuation of the politicks of Europe" [*q. v.*].

**Poor Gillian;** or, Mother Redcaps weekly advice.
[Four unnumbered issues] Nov. 23–Dec. 14, 1677. 68403

**Poor Robbins intelligence, newly revived.**
Nos. 1–10, 12–38, Sept. 4, 1679–May 12, 1680. 73513
Although 11 is omitted in the numbering, the dates are consecutive.

**Poor Robins intelligence.**
Nos. A–Z, Aa–Zz, Aaa–Zzz, Aaaa–Qqqq, Mar. 23 [1676]–Nov. 20, 1677. 73514
Continued as "Poor Robins memoirs" [*q. v.*].

**Poor Robins memoirs.**
Nos. 1–17, [licensed] Dec. 10, 1677–Apr. 8, 1678. 73511
Continues "Poor Robins intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Poor Robins publick and private occurances.**
Nos. 1–3, [the last dated] June 2, 1688. 73512

**Popes harbinger.** *See:* (1) "Anti-Roman pacquet"; (2) "New anti-Roman pacquet."

**Popish courant.** *See:* (1) "Pacquet of advice from Rome"; (2) "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome."

**Popish mass display'd.** 1671 [really 1681].
Nos. 1, 2, Apr. 20–27, 1681. 72871

**Post boy.**
Nos. 452–79, 481–88, 492–98, 500, 501, 503, 506–23, 533–52, 554–72, 575–87, 589, 590, 592–637, 639–82, 684–704, 706–10, 712–25, 725 [repeated], 726–59, 761–74, Mar. 26, 1698–Mar. 26, 1700.
No. 5173, Sept. 15/18, 1722. 72862
Although there are omissions in the numbering between 523 and 533 and 572 and 575, the dates are consecutive throughout.

**Post man.**
Nos. 442–49, 451–69, 471–78, 482–87, 491, 492, 495–508, 508 [repeated], 509, 510, 510 [repeated], 511–13 [514 omitted in numbering], 515–31, 533–37, 537 [repeated], 538–54, 554 [repeated], 555–61, 563–93, 593 [repeated; 594 omitted in numbering], 595–600, 602–11, 613–36, 630–36 [repeated], 637–39, 638–39 [repeated], 640–46, 648–62, 661–62 [repeated], 663–66, 664–66 [repeated], 670–81, 681 [repeated], 682–709, 707–709 [repeated], 710–14, 716, 718–29, Mar. 29, 1698–Mar. 26, 1700.
No. 2053, Oct. 6/9, 1711. 68440
Where numbers are repeated or omitted in the numbering, the dates are consecutive.

**Postscript of advice** from Geneva, to be added to each of Mr. Care's several volumes of *Advice from Rome*.
No. 1 [undated (1683?)]. 72863

**Prater.**
Nos. 1–35, Mar. 13–Nov. 6, 1756. 22337

**Present state of Europe.** Printed by Randal Taylor.
Vols. I–XLVIII, July, 1690–Jan., 1736. 103417
Each volume has Nos. 1–12, covering a whole year, except: Vol. I, which has only six numbers; Vols. XXXII–XXXIII, which together cover the year 1721; and Vol. XLVIII, of which only the January number is in the Huntington Library.
General title in Vol. I, "General history of Europe."
Caption-title of all numbers in Vol. I, "Advice from Rome and Italy."
Caption-title of all numbers after Vol. I, "Historical and political mercury."

—— Printed for Henry Rhodes . . . and John Harris. 1691–94.
Vol. I, July–Sept., Nov.–Dec., 1690.
Vol. II, Jan., Feb., Apr., 1691. 72861
Second edition, corrected.

**Principall passages** of Germany, Italy, France, and other places for these last sixe moneths.
No. 1, [dated in colophon] Feb. 6, 1636. 28382
First number of a series sometimes listed as a continuation of the "Swedish intelligencer" [*q. v.*].
Continued as "Continuation of the actions, passages, and occurrences" [*q. v.*].
Nos. 3–5 published as "Diatelesma" [*q. v.*].

**Proceedings** of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland. *See:* (1) "Account of the proceedings"; (2) "Continuation of the proceedings."

**Protestant courant.** *See:* "Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome."

**Protestant courant imparting news.**
Nos. 1–6, Apr. 24–May 13, 1682. 72872

**Protestant (domestick) intelligence.**
Nos. 56–82, Jan. 16, 1679 [1680]–Apr. 16, 1680.
Nos. [83]–114, Dec. 28, 1680–Apr. 15, 1681. 72729
Nos. 1–55 published as "Domestick intelligence" [*q. v.*].
During part of the interval between Nos. 82 and 83, when publication was suspended, the "True Protestant (domestick) intelligence" [*q. v.*] was published without printer's name but apparently from the same press. This is sometimes listed as a continuation of the above.

**Protestant observator;** or, Democritus flens.
Nos. 1–10, Nov. 19–Dec. 24, 1681. 72873

**Protestant Oxford intelligence.**
Nos. 1–7, Mar. 10–31 [1681]. 72736
Continued, with new numbering, as "Impartial London intelligence" [*q. v.*].

**Public advertiser.**
No. 6725, May 18, 1756.
No. 7422, Aug. 19, 1758. 79856

**Publick intelligence.**
No. 1, Nov. 28, 1665. 72770

**Publick intelligencer.**
Nos. 161–73, Jan. 24–Apr. 25, 1659.
Nos. 209–17 [218 and 219 omitted in the numbering], 220–24, Dec. 26 [1659]–Apr. 2, 1660. 72768
Succeeded by "Parliamentary intelligencer" [*q. v.*].

**Publick occurrences** truely stated.
Nos. 1–34, Feb. 21–Oct. 2, 1688. 72869

**Quiz,** by a society of gentlemen.
Nos. 1–51 [undated (1797–98)]. 106374
Published fortnightly.

**Racing calendar containing an account** of the plates . . . run for in Great-Britain and Ireland.
Vols. I–XIII, XV, XVIII–XXX, 1773–85, 1788, 1791–1803. 132168, 137078

**Racing calendar.** Newmarket. *See:* "Sporting magazine."

**Ramble round the world** . . . to each being added, the *Irish courant.*
Nos. 1, 2; [No. 1 undated but its "Irish courant" is dated Oct. 16, 1689] No. 2, Nov. 8, 1689. 141419, 141420

**Rambler.** Printed for J. Payne. 1753.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–208, Mar. 20, 1749/50–Mar. 17, 1752. 148926

—— Philadelphia. Printed by Robert Carr. 1803. 118622
In this reprint in four volumes, the third (Nos. 106–59) is lacking.

**Reader.** Printed for J. Tonson. 1714.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–9, Apr. 22–May 10, 1714. 142138
Bound and issued with the "Lover" [*q. v.*].

**Rehearsal.** *See:* "View of the times."

**Remembrancer;** or, Impartial repository of public events. Printed for J. Almon.
Vols. I–XVII, 1775–84. 149400, 149402

—— Printed for J. Almon.
Vol. I, 1775. 149403
Second edition.

**Remembrancer;** or, Impartial repository of public events. Printed for J. Almon.
Vol. I, 1775. 149404
Third edition.

—— Printed for J. Almon.
Vol. I, 1775. 149405
Fourth edition.

—— Printed for J. Almon.
Vol. I, 1775. 149400
[Fifth edition.]

**Repository;** or, Treasury of politics and literature. 1771.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–219 [undated].
Vol. II, Nos. 1–147, and "Letters" Nos. 1–35. 137026
Vol. II is separated into monthly sections dated June–Oct., 1770, each section having caption: "Treasury; or, Impartial compendium of politics and literature."

**Review** of the state of the British nation.
Vol. IV, No. 6, Feb. 22, 1706 [1707].
Vol. VI, Nos. 30, 87, 148, dated respectively June 11, Oct. 25, 1709, and Mar. 18, 1710.
Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 8, 10, 14, 20, 47, 49, 52, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, 70–72, 74–76, 79, 80, 85, 87, 96–99, 101, 105–12, 114–16, 121, 123, 124, 126–28, 130, 131, 133–35, 137, Mar. 28, 1710–Feb. 8, 1711. 27642

**Roman post-boy;** or, Weekly account from Rome.
Nos. 1–4; [No. 1 undated] Nos. 2–4, Mar. 23–Apr. 15 [1689]. 68402

**Rotterdam's courant.** Rotterdam. Printed by Goddaeus, June 7. N. Stylo, 1680.
Reprinted at London, by B. Harris.
[Unnumbered; approximate date, May 30–June 7, 1680.] 72774

**Royall diurnall.**
Nos. 1, 3, 5, July 25–Aug. 29 [1648]. 72782

**St. James's chronicle;** or, British evening-post.
No. 3263, Feb. 2–5, 1782.
No. 5973, Apr. 2–5, 1796. 143723

**St. James's journal.**
No. 15, Aug. 9, 1722. 180458

**St. James's magazine.**
[Unnumbered] Sept., Oct., 1762. Dev. 8vo. 22

**Scots magazine.** Edinburgh.
Vols. I–XV, 1739–53; XXVIII, Jan., Feb., May–Oct., Dec., 1766; XXXVIII, Jan.–Mar., 1776; XLV, Feb., 1783; LII–LXII, Jan., 1790–Dec., 1800. 68581

**Scots memoirs,** by way of dialogue between John and Elymas.
Nos. 1–5; Nos. 1–3, Feb. 20–Mar. 13, 1683 [Nos. 4, 5 bear year 1683 only (in colophon)]. 72773

**Selector;** or, Say's Sunday reporter.
No. 161, Dec. 9, 1798. 180469

**Senator;** or, Clarendon's parliamentary chronicle.
Vols. III [1791]; VIII–X [1794]; XXII [1798]. 124482
Caption-titles read, "Parliamentary chronicle."
Lacks pp. 1–16 in Vol. III.

**Several proceedings** of Parliament.
Nos. 1–21, [July 4–] Dec. 13, 1653. 91235

**Smith's currant intelligence.**
Nos. 10–24, Mar. 13–May 4 [1680]. 73347
Nos. 1–9 published as "Currant intelligence. . . . Printed for John Smith" [*q. v.*].

**Smith's Protestant intelligence.**
Nos. 1–22, Feb. 1, 1680/1–Apr. 14, 1681. 72772

**Snotty-nose gazette;** or, Coughing intelligence.
[Unnumbered] Nov. 24, 1679. 72727

**Spectator.** Printed for Sam. Buckley.
Nos. 1–555, Mar. 1, 1711–Dec. 6, 1712. 56169

—— Printed for Messrs. Payne, Rivington, Davis, Longman, Dodsley [and others].
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–555, Mar. 1, 1711–Dec. 6, 1712, with addition of Nos. 556–635, June 18–Dec. 20, 1714. 140959
*Also have: General index to the* Spectators, Tatlers, *and* Guardians. Second edition. Sold by W. Owen. 1760. 94500

**Speech** made by a member of the Convention of the States in Scotland. 1689.
No. 1 [undated]. 72771
Sometimes incorrectly listed as No. 1 of "Continuation of the proceedings of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland" [*q. v.*].

**Speeches and passages** of . . . Parliament, from the third of November, 1640, to this instant June, 1641. 1641.
[Six parts, unnumbered and undated.] 56037

**Spinster,** in defence of the woollen manufactures.
No. 1, Dec. 19, 1719. 147904
*Reprinted in:* "Town talk" [*q. v.*].

**Sporting calendar.**
Vols. I–III, 1769–71. 137079

**Sporting magazine.**
Vols. I–XVII, Nos. 1–102, Oct., 1792–Mar., 1801. 141785
Each volume has an appendix with title: "Racing calendar. Newmarket."

**Spring-Garden journal.**
Nos. 1–4, Nov. 16–Dec. 7, 1752. 199886
*Contains also:*
(1) "New female spectator." Nos. 1–3.
(2) "Inspector." No. 2222.
(3) "Covent-Garden journal extraordinary."
A photostat of the copy in the Bodleian Library.

**Star.**
No. 1083, Oct. 15, 1791. 180468

**Statesman;** or, The constitutional advocate.
No. 1 [undated (1761)]. 67687

**Student;** or, The Oxford monthly miscellany. Oxford.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–9 and supplement, Jan. 31–Sept. 16, 1750.
Vol. II [Nos. 1–10, Oct., 1750–July 3, 1751]. 73640
With No. 5, Vol. II, an additional half-sheet occurs, with title, "Inspector."

**Sunday reformer.**
No. 307, Mar. 3, 1799. 180467

**Sunday review.**
No. 574, Aug. 19, 1798. 180466

**Swedish intelligencer.**
Nos. 1–4, 1632–33. 59213, 89035, 30720
No. 5 published as "Continuation of the German history" [*q. v.*].
No. 8 published as "Modern history of the world" [*q. v.*].
After this number another series, sometimes listed as a continuation of the "Swedish intelligencer" but entitled "Principall passages of Germany" [*q. v.*], was started.

—— [Another issue of No. 1.] Newly revised and corrected. 89034

—— [Another issue of No. 1.] Now the third time revised and corrected. 30718

**Tatler.** Printed and sold by John Morphew. 1710.
Nos. 1–271, Apr. 12, 1709–Jan. 2, 1710 [1711]. 56170
General title reads, "Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff."

—— Printed . . . by Charles Lillie . . . and John Morphew. 1710–11.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–271, Apr. 12, 1709–Jan. 2, 1710 [1711]. 56171
*Also have:*
(1) *General index to the* Spectators, Tatlers, *and* Guardians. Second edition. Sold by W. Owen. 1760. 94500
(2) *Annotations on the* Tatler . . . [By William Oldisworth.] 1710. 143736

**Telegraph.**
[Unnumbered] Apr. 27, 1796. 180465

**Terrae-filius;** or, The secret history of the University of Oxford. Printed for R. Francklin. 1726.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–50, Jan. 11–July 6, 1721 [and appendix, without date]. 97908
The appendix has title, "Letter to the Reverend Dr. Newton."

**Test.**
No. 24 [Apr. 23, 1757]. 131167
Only pp. 135–38 of this number, containing "City farce."

**Test-paper.** 1688.
No. 1 [undated]. 134813
Note at end of text indicates that this paper was published every Wednesday.

**Theatre,** by Sir Richard Steele, to which are added the *Anti-theatre*; the *Character of Sir John Edgar* [and other material]. Printed by and for the Editor. 1791.
[Reprint of] Nos. 1–28, Jan. 2, 1719/20–Apr. 5, 1720 [of "Theatre"], Nos. 1–15, Feb. 15, 1719/20–Apr. 4, 1720 [of "Anti-Theatre"]. 106625
The additional material called for on title-leaf occurs in a second volume.

**Theatrical review;** or, New companion to the play-house.
Vol. I, Sept.–Dec., 1771.
Vol. II, Jan.–June, 1772, and appendix. 87283

**Thespian magazine** and literary repository.
Vols. I–III, June, 1792–Sept., 1794, and supplement to Vol. II. 148267
To Vol. I is added: "Complete history of the drama . . . By Censor Dramaticus. 1793."

**Times.** Printed by A. Anderson.
No. 2233, Feb. 18, 1792. 180454

—— Printed by C. Bell . . . and published by J. Bonsor.
No. 2517, Jan. 26, 1793; No. 3936, July 3, 1797; No. 4298, Oct. 3, 1798. 137020
These are partial reprints (sometime in the nineteenth century), with much of the material in the originals omitted.

**Times**; or, Daily universal register. Printed for J. Walter, at the Logographic Press. Reprinted by the *Times*, 1925.
No. 940, Jan. 1, 1788. 137007

**Town and country magazine.**
Vol. II, Jan.–Dec., 1770, and supplement.
Vol. IV, Jan.–Dec., 1772, appendix, and supplement.
[Vol. VII] Aug., Dec., 1775.
[Vol. VIII] Feb., 1776.
[Vol. IX] Sept., 1777. 132110

**Town talk,** the Fish pool, the Plebeian, the Old Whig, the Spinster, &c. Printed by and for John Nichols. 1789.
[Reprints of:]
(1) Town talk. Nos. 1–9, Dec. 17, 1715–Feb. 13, 1715/16.
(2) Plebeian. Nos. 1–4, Mar. 14–Apr. 6, 1719.
(3) Old Whig. Nos. 1, 2, Mar. 19–Apr. 2, 1719.
(4) Spinster. No. 1, Dec. 19, 1719. 147904

**Treasury.** *See:* "Repository; or, Treasury of politics and literature."

**Treaty traverst**; or, Newes from Newport.
No. 1, Sept. 19/26, 1648. 72725

**True and briefe relation.** *See:* "Mercurius aulicus, a diurnal."

**True and impartial account** of . . . accidents, casualties, and other transactions.
No. 2, June 1, 1688.
No. 4, June 16, 1688. 72737

**True Briton.**
Nos. 1–74, June 3, 1723–Feb. 17, 1723/24. 89216

**True character** of *Mercurius urbanicus* & [*Mercurius*] *rusticus.*
[No. 1, June 6/10, 1667.] 73344
Continued to No. 13 as "City and countrey mercury" [*q. v.*]. With No. 14 the title was changed to "Mercury," and commencing with No. 22, this was replaced by two papers published alternately: (1) "City mercury" [*q. v.*]; (2) "Country mercury" [*q. v.*].

**True domestick intelligence.** Printed by Nathaniel Thompson.
Nos. 20, 23–90, Sept. 12, 1679–May 14, 1680. 72730
A continuation of "Domestick intelligence" having imprint as above [*q. v.*].

**True informer.**
No. 61, Jan. 4–11, 1645. 68438

**True news**; or, Mercurius anglicus.
Nos. 11–51, Dec. 24, 1679–May 15, 1680. 72735
Nos. 1–10 published as: "Mercurius anglicus; or, The weekly occurrences" [*q. v.*].

**True Protestant** (domestick) intelligence.
Nos. 1–7, Apr. 23–May 14, 1680. 72722
Published during part of the interval when the "Protestant (domestick) intelligence" was suspended, and sometimes listed as a continuation of that title [*q. v.*].

**True Protestant mercury**; or, Occurrences foreign and domestick. Printed for H. V. and T. C. Published and to be sold by R. Janeway.
Nos. 1–4, Apr. 27–May 5, 1681. 72732
Continued as "Impartial Protestant mercury" [*q. v.*].

**True Protestant mercury**; or, Occurrences forein and domestick. Printed for H. T. & L. V. and sold by Langly Curtiss.
Nos. 1–188, Dec. 28, 1680–Oct. 25, 1682. 72733
No. 187 is wrongly numbered 186.

**True relation** of the affaires of Europe.
[Unnumbered; dated, at head of title] Oct. 4, 1622. 39866
One of the corantos entered in *Times Handlist* (p. 18).

**Universal intelligence.**
Nos. 1–14, Dec. 11, 1688–Feb. 18, 1688/9. 72734

**Universal magazine** of knowledge and pleasure.
Vols. I–CV, CVI [May, June only], CVII, CVIII, June, 1747–June, 1801. 8631

**View of the times,** their principles and practices, in the . . . *Rehearsals.* 1708.
[Reprint of *Rehearsal*:]
Vol. I, Nos. 1–250, Aug. 2, 1704–Oct. 8, 1707.
Vol. II, Nos. 1–50, Oct. 11, 1707–Mar. 31, 1708.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–50, Apr. 3–Sept. 29, 1708. 73509
In Vol. I, No. 1 has title, "Observator"; Nos. 2–13, 15–50 have title, "Rehearsal of Observator"; No. 14 has title, "Observator's tryal and defence."

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Vol. I, Nos. 1–6, 8–250, Aug. 2, 1704–Oct. 8, 1707. 72781
Another issue of the preceding, most of the numbers having different setting of type and variations in wording of title.

**Visions** of Sir Heister Ryley, with other entertainments.
Nos. 1–80, Aug. 21, 1710–Feb. 21, 1710 [1711]. 81581

**Vocal magazine**; or, Compleat British songster. 1784.
Nos. 1–9 [undated]. 78640

**Votes** of the House of Commons.
No. 89, Apr. 16, 1702. Printed for Edward Jones and Timothy Godwin. 141720

——
No. 9, Nov. 22, 1759. Printed for Whiston [and others]. 66664

**Votes of the House of Commons** at Oxford.
Nos. 1–5, Mar. 21–28, 1681. 88592

**Votes of the House of Commons in the fourth session** of the ninth Parliament . . . 1745.
Nos. 1–102 [No. 2 omitted in the numbering], Nov. 27, 1744–May 2, 1745. 85232

**Votes of the House of Commons in the second session** . . . held at Westminster . . . 1696.
Nos. 1–145, Oct. 20, 1696–Apr. 16, 1697. 85255

—— 1706.
Nos. 1–99, Dec. 3, 1706–Apr. 8, 1707. 85243

**Votes of the House of Commons in the third Parliament** . . . at Westminster . . . 1710.
Nos. 1–150, Nov. 27, 1710–June 12, 1711. 85199

**Votes of the House of Commons in the third session** . . . at Westminster . . . 1707.
Nos. 1–8, Apr. 14–24, 1707. 85243

**Votes of the House of Commons perused** and signed to be printed.
Nos. 1–51, 53–62, Nov. 1, 1680–Mar. 28, 1681, [and one unnumbered issue, dated] Oct. 21, 1680. 72646
Another issue occurs for each of Nos. 28, 47, 49, 50, 51 [2 different copies], 59–62. These numbers are entirely different from the corresponding numbers in the set and are probably supplementary to them. Nos. 59–62, however, have "Oxford" in colophon.

**Wandring whore** continued. 1660–61.
Nos. 2, 5 [undated]. 78666, 145626
No. 2 is given date Dec. 5, 1660, by Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
Title of No. 5 begins, "Fifth and last part."

**Watchman.** Bristol.
Nos. 1–10, Mar. 1–May 13, 1796. 120199

**Weekely newes.**
No. 19, Jan. 31, 1606. 137013
This is one of the so-called fictitious newspapers printed sometime in the nineteenth century. It reprints, in part, material in: *Arraignment and execution of the late traitors, with a relation of the other traitors which were executed at Worcester* . . . (London. Printed for Jeffrey Chorlton . . . 1606.) Other material is substituted for the last part of the pamphlet.

**Weekly advertisements** of things lost and stollen, with catalogues of books newly come forth.
Nos. 1–3; [No. 1 undated] Nos. 2, 3, Jan. 25–Feb. 1 [1669]. 72777

**Weekly amusement**; or, Universal magazine. Dublin. 1735.
No. 1 [undated]. 144844

**Weekly character**; being the character of a pope. 1679.
No. 1 [undated]. 16730
Note, on verso of last leaf, states that a "Character" would come out every Wednesday.

**Weekly discoverer** strip'd naked.
Nos. 1–6, Feb. 16, 1680 [1681]–Mar. 23, 1681. 72776

**Weekly discovery** of the mystery of iniquity.
Nos. 1–30. [No. 1 undated] Nos. 2–30, Feb. 12, 1680 [1681]–Aug. 27, 1681. 72775

**Weekly magazine**; or, Gentleman and lady's polite companion. 1760.
Vol. I, Nos. 1–4 [undated]. 143737

**Weekly memorials** for the ingenious. Printed for Henry Faithorne and John Kersey. 1683.
Nos. 1–50, Jan. 16, 1681/2–Jan. 15, 1683. 12372
No. 10 is numbered "No. 10, alias 1," and has the same text as No. 1 of the series (next entry) bearing the imprint of R. Chiswell . . . [*q. v.*].
Another issue of No. 9, with identical text, has imprint, "Printed by J. C. and Freeman Collins."

—— Sold by R. Chiswell . . . W. Crook . . . S. Crouch . . . G. Kunholt.
Nos. 1–7, 10–29, Mar. 20–Sept. 25, 1682. 72783
The text in No. 1 is the same as that in "No. 10, alias 1" of the journal with the same title but bearing the imprint of Henry Faithorne and John Kersey [*q. v.*]. The printer of Nos. 1–9 of the latter publication also printed the above. The identity of the two runs is established by a broken line under the date.

**Weekly memorials; or, An account of books** lately set forth.
No. 1, Jan. 19, 1688 [1689]. 72780

**Weekly pacquet** of advice from Geneva; or, The history of Presbytery. 1683.
Nos. 1–6 [undated]. 61882

**Weekly pacquet of advice** from Geneva; or, The history of the Reformation.
Nos. 1, 2, May 12, 26, 1681. 72779

**Weekly pacquet of advice from Rome**; or, The history of popery. [By Henry Care.]
Vol. I, Nos. 2–31, Dec. 10, 1678–July 4, 1679.

Vol. II, Nos. 1–47, July 11, 1679–May 28, 1680.
Vol. III, Nos. 1–4, June 4–25, 1680.
Vol. III, Nos. 22, alias 26, 27–71, supplement, 72–80, Dec. 3, 1680–Dec. 16, 1681.
Vol. IV, Nos. 1–35, Dec. 23, 1681–Aug. 18, 1682.
Vol. V, Nos. 1–47, Aug. 25, 1682–July 13, 1683. 72785

Vol. I, No. 1, published as "Pacquet of advice from Rome" [*q. v.*].
Vol. III, Nos. 1–4 (second numbering), published as "New anti-Roman pacquet" [*q. v.*]; Nos. 5–21, published as "Anti-Roman pacquet" [*q. v.*].
Vol. I, No. 2–Vol. III, No. 40, and Nos. 42, 45, 46, 48, 51, 53, 54 of Vol. III, each contains a section with caption, "Popish courant" [or "currant"].
Vol. III, No. 50, has a section with caption, "Protestant courant."
Vol. III, Nos. 41, 43, 44, 47, 49, 52, 55–80, and all numbers in Vols. IV–V, each contains a section with caption, "Courant."
An unauthorized fifth volume, by Langley Curtis, is listed separately (next entry).

—— Printed for Langley Curtis.
Vol. V, Nos. 1–36 [error for 38], Aug. 25, 1682–Apr. 27 [error for May 11], 1683. 72784

This is an unauthorized continuation of Henry Care's periodical (preceding entry).

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Two additional pamphlets, while they may not belong to this series, are closely connected with it:
(1) *Westminster projects; or, The mysterie of Darby House discovered, being an anatomy of the designe of the present Grandees of Parliament and army . . . Printed without feare, and disperst without favour, March, 1648.* 72201
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Whitehall evening post . . . . . 1782–
British gazette . . . . . 1782
Morning herald . . . . . 1782
North British weekly magazine . . . . . 1782–83
Vocal magazine . . . . . 1784
Wit's magazine . . . . . 1784–85
Lounger . . . . . 1785–87
Norfolk chronicle . . . . . 1785
Devil . . . . . 1786–87
Bury and Norwich post . . . . . 1787
General magazine . . . . . 1787–89
Times . . . . . 1788
Craftsman . . . . . 1788
Literary magazine . . . . . 1789
Diary . . . . . 1790
Monthly review . . . . . 1790–
Bee . . . . . 1790–

## Continued from 1780

Lady's magazine . . . . . 1791

## Continued from 1790

Morning chronicle . . . . . 1794
St. James's chronicle . . . . . 1796
Whitehall evening-post . . . . . 1795–97
Monthly review . . . . . .1795–1800
Bee . . . . . 1791–94
Racing calendar . . . . . .1791–1800
Critical review . . . . . 1791–93
Universal magazine . . . . . .1791–1800
Gentleman's magazine . . . . . .1791–1800
London gazette . . . . . .1791–1800
Scots magazine . . . . . .1791–1800

1791–1800

Senator . . . . . 1791–98
European magazine . . . . . 1791–99
Oracle . . . . . 1791
World . . . . . 1791
Star . . . . . 1791
Copperplate magazine . . . . . 1792–1800
Times . . . . . 1792–98
Looker-on . . . . . 1792–93
Thespian magazine. . . . . 1792–94
Sporting magazine . . . . . 1792–1800
Westminster journal . . . . . 1793
London recorder . . . . . 1793
Bulletins of the campaign . . . . . 1795
Evening mail . . . . . 1795
Watchman . . . . . 1796
Telegraph . . . . . 1796
Monthly magazine . . . . . 1796–97
English chronicle . . . . . 1796
Quiz . . . . . 1797–98
Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly examiner . . . . . 1797–98
Express and evening chronicle . . . . . 1798
Courier . . . . . 1798
Weekly register . . . . . 1798
Anti-Jacobin review . . . . . 1798–1800
Sunday review . . . . . 1798
County chronicle . . . . . 1798
Selector . . . . . 1798
Evangelical magazine . . . . . 1799
Sunday reformer . . . . . 1799
Meteors . . . . . 1799–1800
Nose . . . . . 1800
Microscope . . . . . 1800
Cambridge intelligencer . . . . . 1800

# Some Explorations in San Marino

BY SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE

I VISITED the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, in August, 1930, on the invitation of its Trustees. My specific object was to examine any documents there that might serve my study of price history in England. During the three or four weeks of my stay, accordingly, my attention and that of my two assistants was concentrated on a relatively narrow range of manuscript material — the Battle Abbey Manorial Rolls for the period before 1530, and the Stowe, Huntingdon, and Ellesmere collections for the seventeenth century and later. I did not explore the printed-book department at all, beyond glancing at some of the Bridgewater Tracts and getting out one or two books bearing on the Assize of Bread. I found, however, that the Huntington Library contains specimens of two out of every five works printed in England before 1641 — as well as many later rarities; it is needless to say more of its potentialities for research. In the Department of Manuscripts the mass of material is as notable. The collection to which I devoted most time was that from Stowe, but, with all the help of my assistants, I did not look at one-hundredth of the items; my special aim caused me to ignore all the earlier documents and also, no doubt, those of most general and personal interest. What I accomplished was less an exploration than a pioneer raid into a bit of relatively unattractive country; like much of Southern California itself, old account books and bills are by nature deserts and yield fruit only after copious irrigation. Moreover, as appears below, I came, as far as the largest collections are concerned, a little too early; rooms for arranging them and making them available for research had only just been built and at the time of my visit were not ready for occupation; the documents could not be catalogued or sorted and were still in store. Later explorers in economic and political history will find the treasures of the Library practically untouched by me, and, although the going will be easier, they cannot meet with a more cordial reception or readier assistance towards the achievement of all their desires.

My explorations are described under the headings, Battle Abbey, Stowe, Huntingdon, and Ellesmere, with two items of uncertain provenance in a fifth section. Some of the material for price study, though by no means all, has been or is being extracted for me or is being photographed for study elsewhere. As might be expected, the most interesting single items described below — such as the frank description of the Irish Parliament in 1783, or Sir Francis Knollys' indictment of the "conspiracy of the great bankers" of Antwerp in 1564 — have nothing to do with prices.

## Battle Abbey

The Battle Abbey documents examined by me are the contents of:

(*A*) 23 bound folio volumes, numbered 77 to 99 and labelled on the back, "Battle Abbey Rolls," with regnal dates from "Henry III, Edw. I and Edw. II" (Vol. 79) to "James I, Charles I and II" (Vol. 99);

(*B*) 10 quarto or octavo volumes, numbered 3 to 4 and 6 to 14, labelled on the back, "Receipts and Disbursements," and dated from "1657–1710" (Vol. 6) to "1736–1775" (Vol. 12).

The other Battle Abbey documents — mainly charters and deeds — are bound in similar volumes. Since the binding damaged both the seals attached to many of the deeds and the documents themselves (the margins of some of the rolls have been cut away, removing parts of the writing), it may be well to state that the volumes were bound in England before the documents were bought for the Huntington Library. The seals have now been removed from the volumes to prevent further damage. The arrangement of the rolls, which is in the main chronological, has often been carelessly done.[1] Thus Vol. 91 contains in almost immediate succession rolls of 7–8 Richard II, 7–8 Henry IV, 8–9 Henry VII, 9–10 Henry VII, and 26–27 Henry VI. The two volumes (77 and 78) labelled "Undated" contain a number of documents which bear dates from Edward III to Charles I; exact or approximate dating of most of the rest should be possible from internal evidence.

[1] These documents are being removed from the volumes and rearranged.

The volumes described as "Receipts and Disbursements" have not been examined with any care. The earliest of these (Vol. 6) contains a few detailed accounts for the period from 1657 to 1685, giving haymakers' wages and occasional prices. The latest of these (Vol. 12) has wages for building about 1760, which are being extracted. So far as could be seen from a cursory inspection, the remaining accounts are too summary to yield either prices or other information of any general interest; disbursements are given normally "as by his bill appeareth."

The contents of the rolls volumes are of five types:

1. Accounts of Obedientiaries, that is, officers of the Abbey, including the bedel (106), almoner (70), cellarer (40), sacrist (37), treasurer (20), and seneschal (5). There are also 8 rolls described as "of the Abbey" (*Abbatie*), sometimes bearing the name of the abbot and sometimes that of a subordinate. The figures in parentheses give the numbers of rolls of each class already identified; the total is 286, spread over the period from 1306 to 1530. The largest class of obedientiary accounts, that of the bedels, unfortunately contains no prices and relatively little information of general interest. A few references to heriots and deodands have been extracted. One of the latter puts the intriguing problem of how a pair of boots (*caligae*) could become deodand, that is, forfeit to the lord of the manor as having caused a death. There was material for detective novels even in the fifteenth century. The other accounts are being photostated for detailed study in England.

2. Accounts of ministers (bailiffs, reeves, serjeants) in charge of some of the manors belonging to the Abbey, including Bernhorne (93), Icklesham (33), Merle (12), and Mershall (2) — 140 altogether — for the period from 1308 to 1510. These likewise are being photostated, as they contain valuable information about produce, seed, prices, and wages. It seems possible that the accounts of these manors were kept with the obedientiary accounts and, consequently, accompanied them to San Marino, instead of going to the Public Record Office, because these manors were used particularly for direct supply to the Abbey. Sales of wheat are recorded in most years at Bernhorne, Icklesham, and Merle as made to the *granator* of Battle. There are also 18 accounts of bedels, collectors, or "firmarii" relating to the Manor

of Wye in Kent, but they give little information. There is a much larger body of Wye accounts (235 rolls) in the Public Record Office in England, where the accounts of most of the other manors held by the Abbey are also to be found. Altogether, there are about 650 account rolls of Battle Abbey in the Public Record Office or the British Museum, as compared with about 430 in the Huntington Library.

3. Rent Rolls, including a list of tenements, and their worth, in 36 Henry III.

4. Court records (Halmote — at particular manors, Hundred, and Curia). The earliest of these definitely dated so far is a record of gaol delivery in 1 Edward III. Court records form an increasing proportion of the whole; Vols. 95 to 99 contain nothing else, except two late rent rolls.

5. Miscellaneous, including occasional wills, deeds, impeachments, etc.

The Battle Abbey accounts now in the Huntington Library were not used by Thorold Rogers and presumably were not known or available to him, though he used the accounts in the Public Record Office of most of the other manors of the Abbey. The former are now accessible to students and form a substantial addition to the general body of such accounts. They begin relatively late. Most, if not all, of the rolls attributed in Thorpe's catalogue (1836) to Edward I belong really to Edward II or III; and the earliest date yet definitely assigned to any Battle Abbey account is 1306. This compares with 1209 for the first of the Winchester Rolls, 1250 at Canterbury, 1257 for the Nicholas Bacon Rolls at Chicago, 1272 at Norwich, and 1297 at Durham. On the other hand, the Battle Abbey accounts extend to a relatively late period. Though neither they, nor anything else in the Huntington Library, has helped me to strengthen the weakest link — 1530 to 1583 — in the chain of English price history, the comparative fulness with which they continue (after the Winchester Rolls have disappeared in 1453) throughout the fifteenth century and up to 1530 makes them more important for price history than if, without this extension forwards, they reached far back into the thirteenth century. From two other points of view the Battle Abbey records in the Huntington Library have special value. First, they comprise parallel runs of obedientiary and manorial accounts, which check

one another and illustrate the working of a monastic institution; so far as I know, such parallel series are not available for any other religious institution, except possibly Norwich. Second, they cover a district (Sussex) weakly represented in other records; they should throw new light on local measures and local variations of price.

## Stowe

The Stowe Collection, stated to consist of the papers of the Grenville, Temple, and Brydges families from 1150 to 1910 and to include 800,000 items, had not at the time of my visit been catalogued or arranged for study. Everything possible was done in these circumstances to help me to ascertain what the collection contained that might bear on my special subject of prices and wages, but naturally I cannot feel any assurance that I succeeded. And I cannot even hazard a guess concerning the character of probably two-thirds of the whole collection.

An enduring tradition of the Grenville family — and one mainly responsible for the extent of the Stowe collection — appears to have dictated the indefinite preservation of all bills and receipts, however trivial — for groceries, liveries, washing, ironmongery, drugs, journeys, care of horses, house repairs, legal aid, odd jobs in the garden, vegetables, etc., etc. For the seventeenth century, these receipts found their way into nine wooden boxes labelled "Sir Richard Temple." I roughly assorted these receipts (which were in complete confusion), in order to segregate any with information as to wages and to see how evenly they were spread over the whole seventeenth century. While some decades, notably 1670–79 and 1680–89, are better represented than others, there is something substantial for every decade from 1600 to 1690. Having removed the wage accounts, I left the rest, sorted by decades, in boxes labelled "Stowe (Temple) Vouchers, 1600–09," etc. The earliest of them is a single, dirty half-sheet by which "T—— D——" acknowledges receipt of 14/– for 28 days of "worke about the pond heade" in 1597.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there is a much greater mass of receipts, vouchers, and accounts, done up in small bundles. As it was impossible to work on these without ample sorting space and

time, and there was danger of confusing the contents of the various bundles, I confined myself to sampling three or four. They seemed to be scattered over the eighteenth century. Though I did not happen to find anything between 1720 and 1740, I think there is little doubt that the Stowe vouchers would furnish material for a nearly continuous study of changes in the value of money and in the cost and mode of living, from the beginning of the seventeenth till well into the nineteenth century. An indispensable preliminary to their use, however, would be a careful sorting and identification to permit the cataloguing of each of the thousands of separate scraps of paper.

The passion of the Grenvilles for knowing where they stood financially did not stop short at preservation of bills and receipts. The Stowe collection also contains a formidable mass of bound volumes covering every side of the family's income and expenditure. Over 250 such volumes were examined by my assistant, Miss Nicholas; many others, which were rent books or rough notebooks containing no prices and of no apparent interest, were not inspected at all. The 250, of which some brief account can be given, include the following types:

*General Accounts and House Books* (15 volumes). The General Accounts are summaries for Stowe of all sets of accounts: on the one hand, of receipts from rents, and, on the other hand, of bills paid, usually giving only totals so that no prices can be determined. They cover the years 1743–57 and 1771–1801.

The House Books (covering the years 1688–91, 1701–05, 1731–32, 1736–41, 1740, 1765–67, and 1771–1818) relate to Stowe and London housekeeping and give disbursements, often daily but seldom in sufficient detail to yield prices, for tradesmen's bills, servants' wages, journeys, taxes, etc.

*Wine and Cellar Books* (5 volumes, covering 1725–30, 1742–48, and 1814–18). These give the quantities and kinds of wine used each day in each department of the household, and memoranda of wine to be used at dinner parties.

*Day Books* (24 volumes, covering 1762–66, 1768–72, 1781, 1782, 1787–95, 1797–1800, 1804, 1817–19, and 1827–38). These have rough entries of daily household receipts and disbursements.

*Wood Books* (22 volumes, covering the years 1735–1808, almost continuously for Stowe and Wotton and less so for Gosfield). These

give accounts of underwood, faggots, and timber sold, and payments for making faggots and felling trees.

*Home Bargain at Stowe* (3 books, 1741–92). These are farming accounts, showing receipts from sale of stock and grain, disbursements for labor, etc. The entries are detailed and give prices and wages.

*Rent Books, Rentals and Abstracts and Leases, Tithe Books, etc.* Of a much larger number of such books, about 24, with dates between 1660 and 1841, were inspected. The rent books, in addition to receipts, give payments for tithes, taxes, church levy, church rate, etc. The rentals sometimes furnish interesting details as to areas, rents, and taxes. Two tithe books, for Cawcott (1773–91) and Kemsham (1781), because they show areas under each type of cultivation in successive years, may enable the yield of corn per acre to be determined.

*Royal Bucks Regimental Papers* (27 volumes, between 1778 and 1832). These include Camp Books, Instructions or "Morning State" or Order Books, Account Books, etc.

*Personal Accounts.* These include, among other records: the cash account of Lord Nugent from 1725 to 1733; disbursements for the Duke of Chandos from 1729 to 1735; personal expenses of Richard Temple Grenville between 1732 and 1760 (including losses at cards, payments to Joshua Reynolds, the painter, for a portrait of "G. G.," and the cost of the installation of a Knight of the Garter); expenses of the Marquis of Buckingham in Ireland during his second lord lieutenancy from 1787 to 1789; and personal expenses of the Marquis of Buckingham, 1820–24, and of the Duke of Buckingham, 1839–61.

*Miscellaneous.* About 50 volumes were examined, including: inventories of furniture, etc., between 1725 and 1871; a 1721 "Book of Strangers" (i.e., lists of guests dining at Canons and their places at the various tables — of his grace, the chaplain, the gentlemen of the horse, the officers, or of the servants' hall); a similar book for 1842–44; stable expenses, 1704–12; upkeep and sale of estate in Jamaica, 1843–59; corn book, 1748–62; accounts of repairs, 1720–23, 1764–1812, and 1841–64 (11 books of disbursements for labor and materials, seldom detailed); wages books (10 inspected, between 1720 and 1847, giving payments for farming labor, seldom detailed enough to show rates); quarterly housekeeping statements at Stowe, 1726–31 (3 volumes, giving expenditures for meat, poultry, fish, bread, fuel, etc., with

prices); kiln account at Stowe, 1769–97; hunting diary, 1808; list of birds in Malta (1863); "A concise account of the Origin and Process of the Rocket System" (1807); Letter Books; etc., etc.

Besides these bound volumes relating chiefly to the eighteenth century, there are similar accounts for the earlier periods that are usually in the form of paper sheets roughly stitched together into books. These have been sorted out into boxes, now labelled "Stowe (Temple) Selected Accounts," and include the following, among other items:

*Account of Expenditure on Building at Stowe in 1583.* [Now in Stowe (Temple) Selected Box 2.] Paper stitched, entitled "A° xxv$^{to}$ et xxvi$^{to}$ E. Reg. Walter West his book for the chardge of the buyldinge at Stow." Gives payments each month from March, 1583, to February following (total £959 5s. 1d.), for building, largely by contract but with some prices for materials (lime, stone, tall wood, etc.), and carriage and day wages for carpenters and bricklayers (10d., as a rule, in March and November, and 12d. in the intervening months) and for laborers (6d. in March, October, and November, 7d. in April, and 8d., May to September).

*Justian Accounts, 1598–1669.* [Now in Stowe (Temple) Selected Box 1.] These are the accounts, successively, of Giles, Thomas, and Barak Justian, at Burton Dassett, and they deal chiefly with haymaking labor but have some additional farming disbursements, and receipts for skins and other sales. They cover the years 1598–1629, 1658, and 1666–69.

*Various Estate and Farming Accounts*, with a few individual vouchers for labor between 1597 and 1685. [Now in Stowe (Temple) Selected Box 2.] The formal accounts here include the following:

Account of John Carr, dated May 27, 1618, with many detailed receipts and payments yielding farming prices and wages.

Account of Henry Rose, delivered November 29, 1630. Payments, with rates, to masons (for one day "for making of the style for Mrs. Grene to com to church at 1s. a pece"), carpenters, laborers, thatchers, etc.

Account of outlay at Fenton Hall, beginning December, 1633. Contains many entries about prices and building wages,

with carpenters and masons at 12d. a day and a plasterer at 16d. a day in December, January, and February.

Two Woodcutting Accounts for 1634–36 and 1636–37. The latter, which is dated in detail, shows ordinary woodcutters' wages at 6d. in December and January, 7d. in February, and 8d. in April, with a carpenter's wages in February at 1/– and his laborer's, at 7d.

*Household and Other Accounts* between 1635 and 1690. [Now in Stowe (Temple) Selected Box 3.] Seven or eight accounts chiefly concerned with household expenditure, but including two for timber.

The most interesting of these miscellaneous books from the Stowe collection, and deserving of special notice, are two small notebooks in red morocco, describing individually all the members of the two houses of the Irish Parliament. They are a frank and quite scandalous "Who's Who" of those bodies. The books bear no date or mark of authorship, but internal evidence shows they were composed after Lord Buckingham's first lord lieutenancy, which ended June, 1783. Probably the notes were made, with a view to the general election in the autumn, by a confidential secretary in the lord lieutenant's office, for the guidance of the incoming lord lieutenant, the Duke of Rutland. On Lord Buckingham's return to the lord lieutenancy in 1787, the notes would have come into his hands and so into the Stowe collection. They seem to be in the same handwriting as a notebook marked "1787," recording the names of persons recommended (clearly to Lord Buckingham as Lord Lieutenant), and of those who recommended them, the office, honor, pension, or other favor sought, and the action taken. The favors sought are classified under Army, Church, State (with subheads for Titles and Honors, Law, Revenue, Pensions, Concordatum), and Miscellaneous, and are of every degree, from a marquisate or privy councillorship ("claims a promise from the Duke of Rutland") to appointment as a tide-waiter or hearth-money collector, from elevation to the Bench of Bishops ("promised 2nd vacancy") or "a cornetcy for his son" to being made "grocer to the Castle." The action most frequently taken is "declined," particularly when the person in question recommended himself.

A list of this kind might be constructed for almost any minister who has held high office. The two notebooks of 1783, however, have

the less common interest of throwing lurid side lights on a parliament and government of unsurpassed corruption. Practically, the representation of every constituency is described as a piece of property, with the name of the owner, how he acquired it (by inheritance, marriage, independent purchase, family agreement, etc.) and how he used it (i.e., whether he cultivated the property himself by returning himself or a friend or son to get the honors and emoluments available to those who voted acceptably in Parliament, or whether he sold the representation and the chance of those emoluments for cash down). Almost the only exceptions to admitted ownership are constituencies which are described as disputed between two claimants or as "pot-walloping" — a term indicating a constituency which refused to stay bought and was thus always open to more corruption — but even in those cases it was generally noted that Lord M.'s or Mr. N.'s influence predominated. Members as well as constituencies occasionally revolted against their patrons. Both kinds of property wanted watching. "Charles OHara Esq — a young Lawyer — has an Estate in Sligo — lately married a good Fortune — was brought in by L$^{d}$ Harcourts means paying only 1000 £ yet he has always opposed." "William Chapman . . . — From the Inattention of the late Lord Darnley he got by stealth into this Borough — but it being a Manor & the Voters his Lordship's Tenants it is improbable he can succeed again."

There were other ways to Parliament than stealth or purchase. The member for St. Johnstown was "returned from a Promise over a Bottle by the late Lord Granard." The member for another borough was "*John Knox Esq* — a Major in the Army — Son of Lord Welles who has generally supported Gov$^{t}$ — returned by Col: Conyngham Who has had a long Attachment to his Mother."

The great peers are described with all their properties and retinue of members:

Earl of Shannon — a Vice Treasurer & has a Pension of 2000£ a Year. His Members & Influence as Follows — L$^{d}$ Lisle L$^{d}$ Carrick & Lord Doneraile in the House of Peers

Co. Cork — Richard Townsend Esq

Castlemartyr B. — { Hon: Ja$^{s}$ Lysaght / Sir Riggs Falkiner } — Cloghnikelty B. { Tho$^{s}$ Adderley / Attiwell Wood Es[q.] }

Youghall B. — { James Uniache / Rob[t] Uniache } — The 2 M[r] Jephsons, Col. Pigot Col. Southwell, M[r] Evans — M[r] Hunt M[r] Townsend jun[r], & the 2 M[r] Sentlegers are attached to his Lordship & he brings in his Nephew Capt: Boyle for Tallagh one of the Duke of Devonshires Boroughs. a sensible & firm Man. — married to a Daughter of M[r] Ponsonby but they do not consult or act together politically — M[r] Pierce Butler L[d] Carricks Brother generally votes with his L[d]ship & Mr. Butler of the Castle of Kilkenny is inclined to him

The Duke of Leinster has a like retinue and a character as well:

"The Duke is weak & unsteady & proud, & high in his demands when he supports."

The anonymous author shows, indeed, a pretty taste for concise characterization. The Rt. Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, who, with the provostship of Trinity College at £2,000 a year, combined two public offices bringing in another £2,500, besides having a fortune with his wife, is "a true Swiss & will fight through any thing if well paid — but very difficult to manage, being jealous & tricking & never to be trusted — he has much Expedient but little Judgement — of late years is ill attended to." Another privy councillor and Knight of the Bath is Lord Harcourt's former chief secretary, Sir John Blaquiere. In 1783, with some £3,500 a year of public moneys as well as a grant in Phoenix Park which he had sold back to the government for £7,000, he "is a Man of much Cabal: & therefore worth managing which is to be done by a little Flattery & Attention — Very hospitable has a good Cook & good Wines & knows their Influence." Yet a third privy councillor is the Rt. Hon. John Scott, "late Attorney General — removed by the Duke of Portland — Clerk of the Pleas in the Exchequer 2500 £ a Year — has supported Government ever since he came into Parliament. an unequal & incautious Speaker, & tho' apparently open & free of a most suspicious & jealous Disposition. — has been a most fortunate Man having realized from Legacies, by his two Wives & his own Labors at the Bar above 5000 £ a Year exclusive of his Office & the profits of his present Practice."

Another leading character is Henry Flood: "Stood for the County of Kilkenny without success & upon Petition again failed — was returned for the Borough of Callen but ejected on Petition from

M^r^ Agar — bought of L^d^ Enniskillen. — made Vice Treasurer by L^d^ Harcourt — whom he supported — opposed L^d^ Buckingham & opposing L^d^ Carlisle was removed from Office — Indignant at not being restored by the Duke of Portland he broached the Doctrine of Renunciation & has set the Kingdom in a flame."

These are prominent figures. The smaller fry parade more briefly: "A gentlemanlike, Drawing Room Man." "An odd passionate Man." "Of very weak Understanding — & addicted to low Company." "An unpleasing heavy speaker but indefatigable & persevering in parliamentary Business." "An honest, downright Man of strong understanding but with little Knowledge of the World." "An odd-absurd Character with some thing like Abilities; but of no Consideration or Consequence."

Yet with the small fry as with the large, the bait they will take is usually noted: "Wishes to be a Privy Counsellor." "His Object the Peerage." "A shabby Character and will take any thing." "A noted Duellist & of no very respectable Character — His Object is Station in the Law Line." "In distressed Circumstances — & a mean Character — sold his Vote upon the Tenantry Bill for 40 Guineas." [This of a viscount who was also a clergyman.] "*Charles Lambert Esq* — has this Borough [Kilbeggan] — is Collector of Dublin County 500 £ a year, which Employment he wishes to exchange for any thing of equal Value compatible with his Residence in England, as his Wife, who was a Miss Dutton, will not live in Ireland." "Sir *William Fortick K^t^* bought from the Representative of M^rs^ Mervyn who has half this Borough — Grandson to Fortick a Sadler who made a Fortune — opposed till the Duke of Portlands Arrival who made him a Knight." "Supported L^d^ Carlisle in general upon being made a Trustee of the Linen Manufacture."

And so on, and so on. The sordid incredible picture gains credence because it is drawn without malice. The anonymous author enjoys character drawing but not for its own sake. He is the civil servant behind the scenes; his object is not scandal but that the king's government, as he sees it, shall be carried on. He notes the occasional honest man with the same detachment as the many knaves; both honesty and knavery are pieces in his master's game. He can recognize high character when he meets it. In the witches' dance of gibber-

ing frauds — place seekers and vote buyers, members brought in over the bottle or at a cheap rate by Lord Harcourt, dukes placing their demands high for their support and saddlers' grandsons appeased by knighthoods — one figure, at least, stands out, of a man who still thought that Parliaments were meant to serve the people:

*Henry Grattan Esq* — son of the late Recorder of Dublin his paternal Fortune about 600 £ a Year mostly in the County of Cavan — at the Bar — but has never had much Business — he took the Lead of Opposition in the last Session of Lord Buckingham's Administration & maintained his Post till the Duke of Portlands Arrival, whose Measures he conducted. Parliament unanimously voted him 50,000 £ for his public Services. He is an honest, warm, enthusiastic Character

## Huntingdon

The Huntingdon collection, described as the papers of the family of Hastings from 1101 to the nineteenth century, is, like the Stowe collection, not yet catalogued or arranged, and at the time of my visit was stored in a room next to the latter. I examined about twenty boxes of documents and three bound books of accounts. Inspection of the storeroom revealed, among the mass of deeds and charters, some other accounts, though nothing in roll form.

The three bound books contained household accounts for 1584 (with no place or name), for 1634 (for Alice, Countess of Derby at Harfield), and for 1640–43 (for Lord Hastings). Extracts from all these have been made.

The twenty boxes contained chiefly paper-bound books of rents received (from 1624 onwards), but also other documents. I sorted these roughly into Rentals and Surveys, including the accounts of Gervas Jaques (between 1624 and 1814 — six boxes), Inventories and Valuations (beginning 1741 — one box), Documents on Inclosure (1760 to 1778 — one box), Individual Bills and Business Letters (17th century, with one 19th century — three boxes), Personal Expense Accounts and Miscellaneous (chiefly 17th and 18th centuries — three boxes), and three boxes of selected accounts which seemed worth special study (Housekeeping, between 1616 and 1730; Farming and Wages, between 1611 and 1762; Accounts of Bailiffs, between

1629 and 1711; and Mills Accounts, between 1632 and 1654). One of the farming accounts, the book of John Hill, runs to twenty-two sheets and covers three and a half years from April, 1611. It gives prices for butter (3d. a lb.) and eggs (2d. a doz.), an oft-repeated payment of 12d. to a piper "for playing before the boone cart," and a daily payment for labor (usually "for going with the weins") of 6d., which seems to be the same for every month of the year. A woman's day wage was 4d., and that of a "coller-maker," 12d.

As these documents had been examined before they left England and calendared for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, no further description is attempted here. The account given in the Commission's *Reports* is admittedly partial, and does not obviate the need for a complete catalogue.

Generally, the Huntingdon papers afford a valuable series, parallel to the bulkier Stowe collection, for the study of economic and social history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cursory inspection suggests that for the seventeenth century, when wages were still painfully creeping up to the new level of prices established after the inrush of American silver in the sixteenth century, the Stowe and Huntingdon manuscripts have about as much material for wage study as Thorold Rogers collected altogether. What, if anything, there is of earlier material, cannot yet be stated.

## Ellesmere

The Ellesmere collection begins with the papers of Sir Thomas Egerton (1540–1617), who became Lord Chancellor and Baron Ellesmere in 1603, and whose son John became the first Earl of Bridgewater of the new creation in 1617. Besides a number of loose documents and rolls it includes 153 folio volumes of bound-up manuscripts. Of the latter I looked at four or five which, from the catalogue made for the family, appeared to contain accounts; others for which I asked, after examination of the catalogue, proved not to be in the Huntington Library and had presumably been retained by the family. I inspected also a bundle of manorial rolls (described as No. 1589).

The three volumes of bound-up manuscripts which I examined

particularly were numbered 3 (MSS 113 to 168), 32 (MSS 2243 to 2285[A]), and 89 (MSS 6693 to 6795[D]). No. 89 contained nothing to demand my attention, though there were a few rentals of manors.

No. 3 has, however, among other documents, four accounts of disbursements at Harefield in 1602 and 1605, one of which, dated August 25, 1602, is of interest as giving day wages for bricklayers and carpenters (18d.), bricklayers' laborers (12d.), and laborers digging gravel or cutting birch (10d.), which are distinctly higher than are commonly found elsewhere either at this time or much later.

No. 32 consists entirely of memoranda, letters, and reports, bearing on the introduction of the new coinage in 1602 and the controversies that accompanied this measure. Thus, MS 2244 sets out "The order of proceedinge for the settlinge of Base monyes in Ireland"; MS 2250 argues that "The chiefe and principall causes of Transportacion of our golde and siluer out of this Realme, are the ouerweight and ouerfines thereof"; MS 2256 undertakes to demonstrate "The Inconveniences that will grow to the Realme. If y[e] standard for Siluer monys should be com*m*ixed of xi ozs. ii dwzt of fine Siluer & xviii dwzt of Copper to the fier"; while MS 2279 is an account of the differences "now in question depending" between the Warden of the Mint (Sir Thos. Knevett) and the Master of the Mint (Sir Richard Martin). This is clearly an important set of documents; how important and how far unique it was impossible for me to determine without reference both to printed histories of the coinage (not yet available at San Marino) and to similar contemporary documents elsewhere.

The bundle of rolls numbered 1589 in the Huntington Library contained, I was informed, everything in the nature of manorial rolls to be found in the Ellesmere collection. It consists of 23 rolls altogether, 14 being court records, 3 being isolated ministers' accounts for Eccleshall (1398), Chaulton (1408 or 1409), and Morton (1440), and 6 being the accounts of all and each of the ministers of the royal demesnes of Bromfield and Yale for years between 1450 and 1543. None of the isolated rolls gives much information, though the Eccleshall roll has a few prices of livestock and labor. The Bromfield and Yale accounts, covering Leominster, Ruabon, Burton, Rydeley, Hem Manor, Estlushin, Pickhill, Morton, Minera, Is-y-coed, Eyton Park,

and other places on the border between England and North Wales, are concerned only with *redditus assise*, *firme*, *perquisita curie*, and similar entries; they give no prices except conventional ones for wheat, rye, and oats taken as rents (*tam de redditu assise quam estaet*) and ranging for wheat between 9s. 4d. and 10s. 8d. a quarter in the years included. Their chief interest for price history is in using "mellect" and "hop" as alternative names for the eighth part of a quarter.

Though my personal concern was with manuscript material, it would not be right to omit reference here to the very large collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pamphlets which were bound up to form part of the Bridgewater Library. Most of the several hundred volumes are labelled "Historical and Political." Five volumes, with 77 items, are labelled "Tracts on Trade," and the contents lists of these were kindly copied for me. The earliest of these tracts are of 1615, and all the rest, save for one volume running from 1722 to 1738, are of the seventeenth century. Their importance to students of economic thought and history can be judged only by relating them to the contents of similar collections elsewhere. This is equally true of the much greater volume of historical and political items.

## Works of Uncertain Origin

There remain for notice two works of uncertain provenance.

One of these is the "Blickling Manor Book," apparently a description of lands and their tenure, with numerous extracts from court records, of which the earlier are of Edward II or before, while the later come down to 28 Elizabeth or after. There is an index of names and places at the beginning, but the work is voluminous and the handwriting (presumably late Elizabethan) is too intractable to encourage speculative exploration. Nothing in the nature of accounts or prices appears to be included.

The other work, described in the Library as "HM 730," is a bound manuscript book of 23 sheets by Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household under Queen Elizabeth, containing several writings of different dates [in his own hand?]. The first sheet (recto) bears the title: "A Booke of exchange of merchants particularly Labored by

S[r] Franncis Knollys Knyghte Treasurer of the houshoulde: Although begunne & fynyshed by vertue of a Comyssion dyrected to dyverse p[er]sons hereafter mencyoned." Then, after a two-page preface pointing out that it is necessary not only to have learned but to remember the rules of arithmetic in discussing the coinage and the foreign exchanges, comes (on 3 recto) a fresh heading:

A conference of waightes bolion and valeues of the sylver monyes of Englande, and of the sylver monyes of the lowe Countryes, w[th] a Compary-son of the exchange used to & fro betwene the Burse at Anwerpe, and Lombarde streete in London, wherein is dyscussed not onely how muche a pounde of Englyshe mony is worthe of Flemmysshe monye, But also how the sleyghts & Cunning of the usage of the exchange hathe bene & may be to the greate losse & hynderance of the Common Weale of Englande: And how the same may be remedyed, mette w[th]all, and turned to the benyfyte of this realme of Englande: Wrytten upon occasion of a com*m*issyon graunted by hir Ma[tie] unto my Lorde Treasorer, & to S[r] Franncis Knollys, S[r] Walter Myldmay, & S[r] William Cordall Knyghtes, for the specyall inquyry of the convenyences, & inconvenyesces of the matters of exchange, and fynyshed in the monnthe of February anno 1564 and in the seventhe yeare of hir Ma[ts] raygne.

The discussion of this occupies ten sheets, the main point being that, by "conspiracy of the greate bankers" in Antwerp, the English pound in Flanders exchanged for less than its proper bullion value. Incidentally, the rate of interest for the use of money is shown to have been ten per cent per annum.

There follows next "A treatise [with no date named] concerninge the mintage of the monyes" and the duties of the various officers of the Mint, occupying eleven folio pages, and then, in order:

An abstracte of the differente reasons of the twoe iuries concerning the syzing of the Troy Waighte and of the avoire de poize Waighte: Wrytten the 28 of marche. 1585. [About 3 pages.]

The controversie betwene hir Ma[tie] & the Steedes or Styllyarde men, Wrytten the 8 of Apryll 1578. [About 1½ pages.]

Towching the Vente of Englyshe Clothes wrytten the 9 of october 1587. [About 3 pages.]

Towchyng the multitude of Marchants for venting of englyshe Clothes. [About 3 pages.]

Without access both to the essential works of reference and history and to other manuscripts in England, it was not possible for me to estimate the value and significance of this manuscript. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, while not mentioning, in its account of Sir Francis Knollys, the Commission of 1564, refers to a manuscript "Discourse of Exchange" by him as being at Penshurst. This manuscript is described by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (*Third Report*, p. 230) as sixty pages long and as beginning (after a preface): "A conference of the weightes, boolion, and values of the silver money, etc." What is the relation of the Huntington manuscript to the longer Penshurst manuscript and to all the other relevant writings of the period?

## The Huntington Library as a Place of Research in English History

In concluding this account of my brief explorations at San Marino, it is inevitable that I should say something as to how the study of so much raw material of English history is affected by its location 7,000 miles from England.

One disadvantage of this location is obvious, and was illustrated more than once in my exploration. The Huntington Library documents are only part of a greater mass of historical material from which by accident they have become separated. They can seldom tell their full story on any point without in one way or another being fitted back into the parent body whence they come. They cannot be understood without reference to printed books, which it may be difficult to locate, or manuscripts, which it may be impossible to find, west of the Atlantic. The 430 account rolls of Battle Abbey now in California are part of a total of nearly 1100 such rolls surviving from the period 1300 to 1530, and cannot make their contribution to the economic history of medieval England unless they are studied with the 650 remaining in London, and with the results of parallel studies of the thousands of rolls for other religious houses and estates in England. For my particular purpose of studying prices, agricultural yields, and weights and measures, reference to the documents in London is

necessary so often and at such uncertain intervals that I had no alternative to having the bulk of the rolls reproduced by photostat for transcription in England. Again, the significance of the collection of coinage memoranda, dated about 1600 in volume 332 of the Ellesmere manuscripts, and of the earlier manuscripts — dated 1564 to 1587 — by Sir Francis Knollys, cannot be judged until a comparison has been made with similar documents in England. As I had not anticipated finding them, I could not decide even whether any of them was worth transcribing or noting fully.

All this is undeniable. If the documents of the Huntington Library could be accessible to the public but located in London, their study would be more easy and more rapid. But this is not the whole of the story. First, these documents, or most of them, when they were in England, were not accessible to scholars at all, while the care given to their preservation was often deficient. Second, from the point of view of learning as a whole, there is a definite advantage in having so many monuments of the past set up in one of the most modern communities of the world. It is almost as important for old communities to be interested in young ones as for young communities to be interested in old ones; to look forward and plan well, with an understanding of all that human nature holds, it is necessary also to acquire the habit of looking backwards. In so far as the location in the Huntington Library (and in other American libraries) of so many bits of England helps to foster in the New World a living interest in the Old World, and makes possible schools of history and palaeography, it may bring a gain to learning and to men's understanding of life which could not otherwise come about.

The practical difficulties of combining research in two continents, though they cannot be abolished, can be reduced almost to insignificance. It is mainly a question of detailed cataloguing, so that researchers from one continent may have some idea of what they will find in the other before they go there. It is next to that a question of having enough expert archivists, reference libraries, and facilities for photography and transcription on each side of the Atlantic.

# Elizabethan Proof Corrections in a Copy of *The First Part of the Contention* 1600

BY TUCKER BROOKE

THE Huntington Library possesses two copies of the 1600 Quarto[1] of the play usually referred to as *The First Part of the Contention* which, in their relation to each other, offer an interesting example of the work of an Elizabethan proof-corrector. The two copies — from the Bridgewater and Kemble-Devonshire collections, respectively[2] — appear to be textually identical except on the recto forme of the "B" gathering. The four pages of this forme ($B1^r$, $B2^v$, $B3^r$, and $B4^v$), which occupy the top or first-printed side of the quarto sheet, all exhibit manuscript corrections in the Bridgewater copy of the book, and in the Kemble-Devonshire copy these particular corrections (and no others) have actually been introduced into the printed text. The accompanying photographs show in juxtaposition the relevant pages in the two copies, and the following list gives the readings as they originally stood in Bridgewater and as they have been altered in Kemble-Devonshire to agree with the instructions of the corrector:

[1] This is the second edition, printed by Valentine Simmes. The first edition was printed by Thomas Creed in 1594. Thomas Millington published both editions. The play is, of course, the "early" version of Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part II*, the relation of which to the text in the Shakespeare Folio is now in dispute.

[2] In the Huntington Library catalogue the Bridgewater copy is numbered 79,885, and the Kemble-Devonshire copy, 79,884.

| | *Bridgewater* | *Kemble-Devonshire* |
|---|---|---|
| Page B1[r] | | |
| Line 14 | what angry . . . Nell, | what, angry . . . Nell |
| Page B2[v] | | |
| Line 11 | Villaines get ye gone [Two commas added in manuscript] | Villaines get ye gone, [Only the second comma has been inserted] |
| " 12 | thus. | thus? |
| " 21 | cap | cap, |
| " 25 | vauntad | vaunted |
| Page B3[r] | | |
| Line 4 | *him*, | *him:* |
| " 8 | Fraunce or, | Fraunce, or |
| " 22 | himfelfe, | himſelfe, |
| " 29 | thee, | thee? |
| " 30 | as we see, | (as we see,) |
| Page B4[v] | | |
| Line 3 | vnckleGloster, [Words insufficiently spaced] | vnckle Gloster, |
| " 5 | *M*adame your hawke they say | *M*adame, your hawke, they say, |
| " 10 | Wherein s | Wherein is |
| " 12 | here | heare |
| " 18 | *Bullinbrooke* | *Bullinbrooke*, |

In all, twenty-one distinct changes are called for by the manuscript marks on the four pages of the Bridgewater copy, and twenty of these have been correctly introduced into the printed text in the Kemble-Devonshire copy, the only error of the revising compositor being his failure to supply the comma after "Villaines" called for in line 11 of B2[v].

The changes indicate that the printer of the Quarto, Valentine Simmes, took considerable care about minor details. Sixteen of the alterations are mere matters of punctuation, four improve the spelling, and one corrects the spacing. On the other hand, Simmes, or his representative, does not appear to have checked his printer's work by collating it with the text of 1594 from which that of 1600 was set up, for he has allowed a couple of important deviations for the worse to stand unaltered; e.g., "the Kings" (B1[r], line 6) for "Kings," which the meter requires, and "bold" (B3[r], line 24) for "old." Nor has he corrected the misprint "Aud" for "And" in line 30 of B4[v] or the

faulty Latin of "*Aſcenda, Aſcenda*" in the following line. In general, however, the presswork of the 1600 edition is greatly superior to that of its predecessor, which Thomas Creed had printed.

As no marks are found in the Bridgewater copy on those pages of signature "B" which make up the verso forme ($B1^v$, $B2^r$, $B3^v$, $B4^r$), it is probable that the manuscript alterations were made before the verso forme pages had been printed off — that is, while the under side of the unfolded sheet was still blank. And since the Kemble-Devonshire copy shows that the type on the recto forme has been corrected (with the one trivial omission noted above) in just the points called for by the manuscript markings in Bridgewater and in no others, we may conclude, I think, that the four pages of the Bridgewater copy here reproduced are the actual pages read by the corrector of Simmes's press and given to the compositor as revised proof. The inclusion of such heavily inked pages in a complete copy of the Quarto may be presumed to have been unintentional: ordinarily they would doubtless have been cast aside, and their survival in the present instance offers a useful clue to the methods and the degree of care that prevailed in Valentine Simmes's printing office.[1]

[1] Simmes was a good technical printer by the standards of his day, and had had about fifteen years' practice in his trade when he produced the quarto under discussion. As McKerrow says (*Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557–1640*, pp. 245 f.), "His press work was generally good but most of his type was second hand," and "he was constantly in trouble for printing books that were obnoxious to the authorities, or were the property of other men." He printed seven Shakespeare Quartos besides *The First Part of the Contention*, among them (in this same year, 1600) the first editions of *2 Henry IV* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, "this last being one of the few Shakespeare play books that was decently printed" (McKerrow, *ut supra*).

That he that breakes a ſticke of Gloſters groue,
Shall for th offence,make forfeit of his head.
But now my lord,ile tell you what I dreampt,
Me thought I was in the Cathedrall Church
At Weſtminſter,and ſeated in the chaire
Where the Kings and Queenes are crownde, and at my feete
Henry and Margaret with a crowne of gold,
Stood ready to ſet it on my princely head.
*Humph.* Fie Nell,ambitious woman as thou art,
Art thou not ſecond woman in this land,
And the Protectors wife,belou'd of him,
And wilt thou ſtill be hammering treaſon thus?
Away I ſay,and let me heare no more.
*Elnor.* How now my Lord!what,angry with your Nell
For telling but her dreame? the next I haue
Ile keepe to my ſelfe and not be rated thus.
*Humph.* Nay Nell,ile giue no credit to a dreame,
But I would haue thee to thinke on no ſuch things.

*Enters a Meſſenger.*

*Meſſen.* And it pleaſe your grace the King and Queene to morrow morning will ride a hawking to Saint Albones, and craues your companie along with them.
*Humph.* With all my heart,I will attend his grace:
Come Nell,thou wilt go with vs I am ſure.

*exit Humphrey.*

*Elnor.* Ile come after you,for I cannot go before,
But ere it be long,ile go before them all,
Deſpight of all that ſeeke to croſſe me thus,
Who is within there?

*Enter ſir Iohn Hum.*

VVhat ſir Iohn Hum,what newes with you?
*ſir Iohn.* Ieſus preſerue your maieſty.
*Elnor.* My maieſtie,why man I am but grace,

*houſes, of Yorke and Lancaſter.*

That he that breakes a ſticke of Gloſters groue,
Shall for th'offence make forfeit of his head.
But now my lord, ile tell you what I dreampt,
Me thought I was in the Cathedrall Church
At Weſtminſter, and ſeated in the chaire
Where the Kings and Queenes are crownde, and at my feete
Henry and Margaret with a crowne of gold,
Stood ready to ſet it on my princely head.
*Humph.* Fie Nell, ambitious woman as thou art,
Art thou not ſecond woman in this land,
And the Protectors wife, belou'd of him,
And wilt thou ſtill be hammering treaſon thus?
Away I ſay, and let me heare no more.
*Elnor.* How now my Lord! what, angry with your Nell
For telling but her dreame? the next I haue
Ile keepe to my ſelfe and not be rated thus.
*Humph.* Nay Nell, ile giue no credit to a dreame,
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But ere it be long, ile go before them all,
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*Enter ſir Iohn Hum.*

VVhat ſir Iohn Hum, what newes with you?
*ſir Iohn.* Ieſus preſerue your maieſty.
*Elnor.* My maieſtie, why man I am but grace,

*Exit with the Armourers man.*

Now sir whats yours? let me see it,
VVhats here?
A complaint against the Duke of Suffolke for inclosing the
[5] commons of long Melford.
How now sir knaue?
1 Peti. I beseech your grace to pardon mee, I am but a messenger for the whole towne-ship.
He teares the papers.
[10] *Suffolke.* So now show your petition to Duke Humphrey.
Villaines get ye gone and come not neare the Court,
Dare these pesants write against me thus?
*exeunt Petitioners.*
*Queene.* My Lord of Suffolke, you may see by this,
[15] The Commons loues vnto that haughtie Duke,
That seekes to him more then to King Henry,
VVhose eies are alwaies poring on his booke,
And ne're regards the honour of his name,
But still must be protected like a child,
[20] And gouerned by that ambitious Duke,
That scarce will moue his cap nor speake to vs,
And his prowd wife, high minded Elanor,
That ruffles it with such a troope of ladies,
As strangers in the Court takes her for the Queene.
[25] The other day she vaunted to her maides,
That the very traine of her worst gowne,
*W*as worth more wealth then all my fathers lands,
Can any griefe of mind be like to this?
I tell thee *Poole*, when thou didst runne at Tilt,
[30] And stolst away our ladies hearts in France,
I thought King Henry had beene like to thee,
Or else thou hadst not brought me out of France.
*Suffolk.* Madame, content your selfe a little while,
As I was cause of your comming to England,
[35] So wil I in England work your ful content:
And as for prowd Duke Humphrey and his wife,
I haue set lime-twigs that will intangle them,

As

*Exit with the Armourers man.*

Now ſir whats yours? let me ſee it,
VVhats here?
A complaint againſt the Duke of Suffolke for incloſing the
[5] commons of long Melford.
How now ſir knaue?
1 Pet. I beſeech your grace to pardon mee, I am but a meſſenger for the whole towne-ſhip
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VVhoſe eies are alwaies poring on his booke,
And ne're regards the honour of his name,
But ſtill muſt be protected like a child,
[20] And gouerned by that ambitious Duke,
That ſcarce will moue his cap, nor ſpeake to vs,
And his prowd wife, high minded Elanor,
That ruffles it with ſuch a troope of ladies,
As ſtrangers in the Court takes her for the Queene.
[25] The other day ſhe vaunted to her maides,
That the very traine of her worſt gowne,
Was worth more wealth then all my fathers lands,
Can any griefe of mind be like to this?
I tell thee *Poole* when thou didſt runne at Tilt,
[30] And ſtolſt away our ladies hearts in France,
I thought King Henry had beene like to thee,
Or elſe thou hadſt not brought me out of France.
*Suffolk.* Madame, content your ſelfe a little while,
As I was cauſe of your comming to England,
[35] So wil I in England work your ful content:
And as for prowd Duke Humphrey and his wife,
I haue ſet ſnine-twigs that will intangle them,

As

As that your grace ere long ſhall vnderſtand.
But ſtay madame,here comes the King.

*Enter King Henry,and the Duke of York and the Duke of Somerſet on both ſides of the King, whiſpering with him, and enter Duke Humphrey, Dame Elnor, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Salſbury, the Earle of Warwicke, and the Cardinall of Wincheſter.*

*King.* My lords, I care not who be Regent in Fraunce,or Yorke,or Somerſet,alls one to me.
*Yorke.* My lord,if Yorke haue ill demeande himſelfe,
Let Somerſet enioy his place,and go to France.
*Som.* Then whom your grace thinke worthy,let him goe,
And there be made the Regent ouer the French.
*Warwicke* Whom ſoeuer you account worthy,
Yorke is the worthieſt.
*Cardinall.* Peace *Warwicke*, giue thy betters leaue to ſpeak.
*War.* The Cardinal's not my better in the field.
*Buck.* All in this place are thy betters farre.
*War.* And *Warwicke* may liue to be the beſt of all.
*Queen.* My Lord,in mine opinion,it were beſt that Somerſet were regent ouer France.
*Hamph.* Madame,our King is old enough himſelfe,
To giue his anſwer without your conſent.
*Queen.* If he be bold enough,what needes your grace
To be protector ouer him ſo long?
*Humph.* Madame,I am but Protector ouer the land,
And when it pleaſe his grace,I will reſigne my charge.
*Suffolk.* Reſigne it then,for ſince that thou waſt King,
As who is King but thee? the common ſtate
Doth (as we ſee) all wholy go to wracke,
And millions of treaſure hath beene ſpent,
And as for the Regent ſhip of France,
I ſay Somerſet is more worthy than Yorke.
*Yorke.* Ile tell thee Suffolke why I am not worthy,
Becauſe I cannot flatter as thou canſt.

As that your grace ere long ſhall vnderſtand.
But ſtay madame, here comes the King.

*Enter King Henry, and the Duke of York and the Duke of Somerſet on both ſides of the King, whiſpering with him: and enter Duke Humphrey, Dame Elnor, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Salſbury, the Earle of Warwicke, and the Cardinall of Wincheſter.*

*King.* My lords, I care not who be Regent in Fraunce, or Yorke, or Somerſet, alls one to me.

*Yorke.* My lord, if Yorke haue ill demeande himſelfe, Let Somerſet enioy his place, and go to France.

*Som.* Then whom your grace thinke worthy, let him goe, And there be made the Regent ouer the French.

*Warwicke* Whom ſoeuer you account worthy, Yorke is the worthieſt.

*Cardinall.* Peace *Warwicke*, giue thy betters leaue to ſpeak.

*War.* The Cardinal s not my better in the field.

*Buck.* All in this place are thy betters farre.

*War.* And *Warwicke* may liue to be the beſt of all.

*Queen.* My Lord in mine opinion, it were beſt that Somerſet were regent ouer France.

*Humph.* Madame, our King is old enough himſelfe, To giue his anſwer without your conſent.

*Queen.* If he be bold enough, what needes your grace To be protector ouer him ſo long?

*Humph.* Madame, I am but Protector ouer the land, And when it pleaſe his grace, I will reſigne my charge.

*Suffolk.* Reſigne it then, for ſince that thou wäſt King, As who is King but thee? the common ſtate Doth (as we ſee,) all wholy go to wracke, And millions of treaſure hath beene ſpent, And as for the Regent ſhip of France, I ſay Somerſet is more worthy than Yorke.

*Yorke.* Ile tell thee Suffolke why I am not worthy, Becauſe I cannot flatter as thou canſt.

And take my leaue to poſte with ſpeede to France.

*exit Somerſet.*

*King.* Come vnckle Gloſter, now lets haue our horſe,
For we will to Saint Albones preſently,
*Madame*, your hawke they ſay is ſwift of flight,
And we will trie, how ſhe will flie to day. *exeunt omnes.*

*Enter Elnor, with ſir Iohn Hum, Roger Bullenbrooke a Coniurer, and Margery Iourdaine a Witch.*

*Elnor.* Here ſir Iohn, take this ſcrole of paper here,
Wherein is writ the queſtions you ſhall aske,
And I will ſtand vpon this Tower here,
And here the ſpirit what it ſaies to you,
And to my queſtions, write the anſweres downe.

She goes vp to the Tower.

*ſir Iohn.* Now ſirs begin and caſt your ſpels about,
And charme the fiends for to obey your wills,
And tell Dame Elnor of the thing ſhe askes.

*Witch.* Then *Roger Bullinbrooke*, about thy taske,
And frame a circle here vpon the earth,
Whilſt I thereon all proſtrate on my face,
Do talke and whiſper with the diuells below,
And coniure them for to obey my will.

She lies downe vpon her face.

*Bullenbrooke makes a circle.*

*Bullen.* Darke night, dread night, the ſilence of the night,
Wherein the Furies maske in helliſh troupes,
Send vp I charge you from Soſetus lake,
The ſpirit *Askalon* to come to me,
To pierce the bowells of this centricke earth,
And hither come in twinckling of an eie,
*Askalon, Aſcenda, Aſcenda.*

It thunders and lightens, and then the ſpirit riſeth vp.

*ſpirit.* Now *Bullenbrooke*, what wouldſt thou haue me do?
*Bullen.* Firſt, of the King, what ſhall become of him?

*ſpirit.*

And take my leaue to poſte with ſpeede to France.

*exit Somerſet.*

*King* Come vnckle Gloſter, now lets haue our horſe,
For we will to Saint Albones preſently,
Madame, your hawke, they ſay, is ſwift of flight,
And we will trie, how ſhe will flie to day. *exeunt omnes.*

*Enter Elnor, with ſir Iohn Hum, Roger Bullenbrooke a Coniurer, and Margery Iourdaine a Witch.*

*Elnor.* Here ſir Iohn take this ſcrole of paper here,
Wherein is writ the queſtions you ſhall aske,
And I will ſtand vpon this Tower here,
And heare the ſpirit what it ſaies to you,
And to my queſtions, write the anſweres downe.

She goes vp to the Tower.

*ſir Iohn.* Now ſirs begin and caſt your ſpels about,
And charme the fiends for to obey your wills,
And tell Dame Elnor of the thing ſhe askes.

*Witch.* Then *Roger Bullinbrooke*, about thy taske,
And frame a circle here vpon the earth,
Whilſt I thereon all proſtrate on my face,
Do talke and whiſper with the diuells below,
And coniure them for to obey my will.

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*Bullenbrooke makes a circle.*

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Wherein the Furies maske in helliſh troupes,
Send vp I charge you from Soſetus lake,
The ſpirit *Askalon* to come to me,
To pierce the bowells of this centricke earth,
And hither come in twinckling of an eie,
*Askalon, Aſcenda, Aſcenda.*

It thunders and lightens, and then the ſpirit riſeth vp.

*ſpirit.* Now *Bullenbrooke*, what wouldſt thou haue me do?

*Bullen.* Firſt, of the King, what ſhall become of him?

*ſpirit.*

# Four Scarce Poems of George Wither

EDITED BY J. MILTON FRENCH

SOME sixty years ago the Spenser Society undertook the reprinting of the works of George Wither, and actually published a considerable part of them. The project remained unfinished, however, so that the serious student of Wither's writing has to depend on very scarce original editions for many pieces, while others have completely disappeared. The four poems herewith reprinted, from apparently unique copies in the Huntington Library, have dropped out of sight so completely that few recent scholars have even known of their survival. They are thus now for the first time in many years made available.

There can be little doubt about their genuineness. Wither mentions and quotes from *The Tired Petitioner* in his *Ecchoes from the Sixth Trumpet* (1666), and also includes it in *Fides-Anglicana* (1660) among the list of his writings. In the latter work he also mentions by title *Carmen-Ternarium Semi-Cynicum*, though without comment on its contents. *A Timelie Caution*, on the other hand, is one of the very few of his works which is nowhere to be found in any of his own comprehensive lists. Internal evidence, however, is so strong as to support its ascription to him by Lee, Hazlitt, and Lowndes. The author's initials, his styling himself a "faithfull servant to this Republik," his reminder that his previously disregarded admonitions are valuable, his assumed title of "Remembrancer," his woeful reference to his late troubles (perhaps his imprisonment or his financial difficulties), his allusion to forty years of "dispights" (which would fit almost exactly with the date of his first imprisonment in 1614), and the banal pun on his own name, together with the general tone, mark it unquestionably as Wither's. While the *Predictions of the Overthrow of Popery*, in its present form, is not Wither's own compilation, it is a reprint from two of his works. The first fifty lines are from his *Speculum Speculativum* (1660); the rest is from *The Dark Lantern* (1653).

The dates are comparatively easy to fix. Though *The Tired Petitioner* bears no date, it must have been produced between January and May, 1647. At the time of writing Wither was "in *Confinement*"

after "Nine Months *Restraint.*" As he was arrested for libel in April, 1646, and sentenced in August, 1646,[1] the poem must have been composed about nine months after one or the other of these dates. But publication was delayed. In his introduction to the selection from it in his *Ecchoes from the Sixth Trumpet*, Wither states that it was "imprinted without a *date*, about the same time with what last precedes" (a set of verses addressed to certain members of Parliament on December 23, 1648). The long interval — like the absence of the printer's name and date — was probably due to Wither's unpopularity among the stationers.

*Carmen-Ternarium Semi-Cynicum* likewise bears no date, but can safely be assigned to the winter of 1648–9. The author states that this is the "*seventh year*, since I begun To suffer with you," and that "after six years stay" he has received no aid. The allusion is undoubtedly to the Parliamentary order of February 9, 1642/3, which promised Wither redress for the recent plundering of his estate by Royalist troops, but which was never substantially carried out. The work of thirty-six years earlier, when "first, my *Muses* flung defiance," would thus be his *Abuses Stript and Whipt.* A still more accurate date may be gleaned from stanza 2, in which Wither states that it is a "*Pentecost* [i.e., seven weeks], and six weeks more" since his last suit, proffered on "your *Christmasse* Eves-Eve." Reckoning forward thirteen weeks, then, from the petition of December 23, 1648, we come to March, 1648/9, as the date of this poem.

*A Timely Caution* is dated in the title September 10, 1652. *Predictions of the Overthrow of Popery*, to judge by the title, may very likely have been put together as a combined compliment and admonition to William III on his accession in 1688/9. The original dates of Wither's writings, as quoted in the selection, are accurately given as 1652 (his own date for *A Perpetual Parliament*, though published a year later in *The Dark Lantern*) and 1660, respectively.

More interesting is the connection between these pieces and Wither's life. At heart loyal to the Crown and yet repelled by absolutism and corruption, he gradually drifted farther and farther from allegiance to the Stuarts, until he found himself an officer in the popular party. Yet he never became a thoroughgoing Parliamentarian; rather, he held to a middle course, hoping to the last for a reconcilia-

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, IV, 505, 639–40.

tion of the two parties. Indeed, during the years from 1642 to 1660 his disappointment in the new government deepened, and his sufferings were intensified by the very quality that most attracts us in his early poetry — his independence. He might have said of Parliament, as he said of his mistress in his youth,

> If she think not well of me,
> What care I how fair she be?

Unable to fit himself into changing conditions, he watched the country growing away from his ideals, hurled admonition after admonition against its wilfulness and heedlessness, and found himself, after the Restoration, ridiculed, impoverished, imprisoned, and practically forgotten.

His troubles had begun early. Though offered a high position in the Royalist army in 1642,[1] he threw in his lot with the rebels. Anthony Wood's statement[2] that he sold his estate to raise a troop of horse receives some confirmation from two of the present works; and the plundering of his estate, added to his advances of pay to his troops, made inroads to the extent of several thousands of pounds on his resources. In *The Tired Petitioner* he declares that he "for his *Country*, prodigall could be Of all he had"; and in *Carmen-Ternarium Semi-Cynicum* he includes himself in the group of those who "did all bestow" on the cause. By 1646, or thereabouts, he calculated that his losses had mounted to £3,000.[3] To be sure, his enemies scouted his stories. Indeed, one of them, Captain Edward Andrews, scornfully maintained that his losses were not above £500, and that this was more than offset by his plunderings.[4] But no one can read Wither's poems of these years without realizing that his finances, as well as his confidence in the integrity of the state, were shattered. He felt that the state should make sufficient levies on its enemies to reimburse him for the losses he had suffered in its defense. What actually happened, he found, was that the "malignants" were able to get off with slight penalties, whereas he and other loyal citizens could reckon their losses in the thousands. His household, as he mourned, was reduced from eighteen servants to one, his meals from several dishes to one, his income to such a point that he was "now feeding upon his household stuff" — i.e., pawning it — and that he was even

[1] *A Cordial Confection* (1659), p. 32.
[2] *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1721), II, 392.
[3] *Reasons Humbly Offered* [n. d.].
[4] *Portland MSS* (Hist. MSS Comm.), I, 195.

| Petitions | Grants | Money | Estates | Offices |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1642 | | | | [1641]. J. P., Hampshire?[1] |
| 1643 .... [Probably one previous to grant of Feb. 9.] | Jan. 6. Order for £328/6/–.[1]<br>Feb. 9. Permission to seize estates of Denham, Hudson, Andrews, Brednoxe, Browne, Tichborne, and others.[2]<br>.... Order for 1681/15/8.[3]<br>May 12. Order for 1327/4/–.[4]<br>Sept. 12. Order for 287/12/–.[5]<br>Sept. 13. Order for 294/–/–.[6] | Jan. 16. 328/6/– [?128/6/–].[1]<br>.... 204/17/4.[2] | Feb. 9 ff. Seizes estates of Tichborne, Denham, Andrews, Hudson, Browne, Brednoxe, *et al.*[1]<br>July 25. Examined by Commons as to these seizures.[2] | Aug. (?) J. P., Surrey.[2] |
| 1644 July 9. *The Speech Without Door.* | Mar. 28. Order for 190/–/–.[7] | | | .... Stands for M.P.?[3] |
| 1645 | Mar. 5. Grant of one-half of delinquent estates discovered by Wither.[8] | | Aug. 12. Andrews compounds and regains estate.[3] | .... Declines offer as governor of Summer Islands.[4] |
| 1646 .... *Justitiarius Justificatus.*<br>Nov. 12. *Humble Memorandum.*[1]<br>Dec. 28. One referred to committee.[2] | | | Sept. 7. Hudson compounds.[4]<br>Sept. 18. Tichborne compounds.[5]<br>Dec. 26. Browne compounds.[6] | .... Loses justiceship in Surrey.[5] |
| 1647 .... (?) *Reasons Humbly Offered* (n. d.).<br>Feb. 20. Protest against change in previous order.[3]<br>May 17. Continuation of that of Feb. 20.[4]<br>May (?) *The Tired Petitioner* written.<br>Oct. 20. Humble Petition read in Parliament.[5] | Oct. 20. Vague promise of government position.[9]<br>Oct. 29. Recognition of 3438/18/4 due.[10] | | May 20. Browne's composition, though opposed by Wither, finally confirmed.[7] | Oct. 20. Considered for post in Custom House at Dover.[6] |
| 1648 Mar. 15. One sent to Lords.[6]<br>Aug. 25. One submitted to Parliament.[7]<br>Oct. (?) *A Single Si Quis.*<br>Dec. (?) *The Tired Petitioner* printed.<br>Dec. 23. *Verses to Members of Parliament.*<br>Dec. 25. One read in Parliament.[8] | Mar. 8. Order for 1681/15/– and for 1800/–/–.[11]<br>June 21. Order for 51/–/–.[12]<br>Dec. 25. Order for interest on unpaid grants.[13] | | July 5. Buys estate in North Walton for 964/13/6.[8]<br>Sept. 25. Buys estates in Bentley, etc., for 1185/4/5½.[9]<br>Sept. 28. Buys estates in Itchinswell, etc., for 1756/9/1.[10] | .... Recommended as Commissioner of Wine Licenses.[7] |
| 1649 Mar. *Carmen-Ternarium Semi-Cynicum.*<br>.... *A Thankful Retribution.*<br>Sept. 19. One read in Parliament summarizing his losses.[9] | Feb. 8. Order for 306/–/–.[14]<br>Apr. 26. Order for 300/–/–.[15] | | | .... Recommended as Register in Court of Chancery.[8] |
| 1650 | | | Mar. 23. Buys estate in Hantden [Hambledon] for 3796/18/11.[11] | May 6. J. P., Hampshire.[9] |
| 1651 | Jan. 2. Order for 1681/15/– to be secured on the excise, and for 150/–/– a year from John Denham's estate.[16] | Substantial aid by now, partly from private individuals.[3] | .... Buys land at Ash, Surrey.[12] | Oct. 10. Commissioner for Sale of King's Goods.[10] |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | July 23. Recognition of discoveries by Wither of delinquent estates.[18] | | | |
| 1652 | | | | |
| 1653 | | Unexpected windfalls recently.[4] | .... Ejected from Horsly (? and Ash).[14]<br>.... Unexpected gifts of houses and estates.[15] | Mar. 23. Buys Horsly, Essex, for 1645/–/–.[13] |
| 1654 | | | .... Sells 330 acres in Hambledon.[16] | |
| 1655 Jan. (?) One published.[10]<br>Feb. 23. One received by Council.[11]<br>Apr. 19. One received by Council.[12] | Aug. 29. Order for 361/6/8 in full discharge of obligations.[19] | | | July. Clerk in Statute Office.[11] |
| 1656 Jan. (?) Begs Seal of Clerk of Recognizances.[13] | | .... 361/6/8.[5] | | |
| 1657 Feb. 21. One ordered read in Commons.[14]<br>July (?) Letter to Secretary Thurloe.[15]<br>Sept. (?) Meeting with Thurloe.[16]<br>Dec. 28. Letter to Thurloe.[17]<br>.... *Address to Members of Parliament.* | | | | |
| 1658 | | | .... Sells 50 acres in Hambledon.[17] | Oct. 23. Statute Office lost by now.[12] |
| 1659 .... *Petition and Narrative* (n. d.).<br>.... *Epistolium-Vagum-Prosa-Metricum.* | | Has been twice miraculously reimbursed.[6] | | .... Ejected from militia in Hampshire.[13] |

[1] *Catalogue of the Pamphlets . . . collected by George Thomason*, London, 1908, I, 474.
[2] *Journals of the House of Commons*, V, 31.
[3] *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, II, 973.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Journals*, V, 337.
[6] *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, appendix, pp. 15–16.
[7] *A Single Si Quis*, 1648, p. 1.
[8] *Journals*, VI, 104.
[9] *Ibid.*, VI, 298.
[10] *Catalogue Thomason Tracts*, II, 100.
[11] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655*, p. 50.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[13] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1655–6*, p. 149.
[14] *Journals*, VII, 495.
[15] *Review of English Studies*, II, 458.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*

[1] *Publications of the Camden Society*, LXI, 12 (here given as 128/6/–); *Journals*, VI, 518.
[2] *Journals*, II, 960.
[3] *Journals*, VI, 104.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, 518.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money*, I, 515.
[9] *Journals*, V, 337.
[10] *Journals*, VI, 518–519.
[11] *Journals*, V, 485, 502.
[12] *Cal. Comm. Adv. Mon.*, II, 872.
[13] *Journals*, VI, 104, 518–519.
[14] *Cal. Comm. Adv. Mon.*, I, 73; II, 872.
[15] *Journals*, VI, 196, 518–519.
[16] *Journals*, VI, 518–519.
[17] *Cal. Comm. Adv. Mon.*, I, 515.
[18] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1655*, p. 304.
[19] *Ibid.*

[1] *Publications of the Camden Society*, LXI, 12–13.
[2] Wither, *Petition and Narrative*, p. 3.
[3] *British Appeals*, dedication; *Three Grains of Spiritual Frankincense*, dedication.
[4] *Westrow Revived, passim; Dark Lantern*, pp. 17, 19.
[5] *Petition and Narrative*, p. 4.
[6] *Salt upon Salt*, p. 52.

[1] *Se Defendendo*, p. 13.
[2] *Journals*, III, 182.
[3] *Cal. Comm. Comp.*, II, 882.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 1463. Hudson was later resequestered.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 1497.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, 972–3.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] R. A. Willmott, *Lives of the Sacred Poets*, 1834, p. 160.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Epistolium-Vagum-Prosa-Metricum*, p. 4.
[13] *Petition and Narrative*, p. 5; *Cal. Comm. Comp.*, III, 1792.
[14] *Petition and Narrative*, p. 5.
[15] *Dark Lantern*, pp. 17, 19.
[16] Bigg-Wither, *Materials for a History of the Wither Family*, Winchester, 1907, p. 93.
[17] *Ibid.*

[1] Baigent and Millard, *History of Basingstoke*, London, 1889, p. 458.
[2] *Justitiarius Justificatus*, p. 1.
[3] Anon., *A Letter to George Wither*, 1646.
[4] *Just. Just.*, p. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, title.
[6] *Journals*, V, 337.
[7] *A Single Si Quis*, pp. 3–4.
[8] Willmott, *Lives*, pp. 160–1.
[9] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom., 1650*, p. 143.
[10] See a warrant of this date with his signature in the Harvard College Library, shelf-mark 14455.69.160F; also *Journals*, VI, 518.
[11] *Cordial Confection*, pp. 7–8.
[12] *Ibid.*; *The Last Speech of Thomas . . . Pride*, London, 1680, in *Harleian Miscellany*, 1745, III, 135 (Pride died Oct. 23, 1658).
[13] *Epistolium-Vagum-Prosa-Metricum*, pp. 11–12.

obliged to dispose of the treasured jewels and plate given him by the Princess Elizabeth and other famous persons.[1]

The result was a flood of petitions to Parliament. Some of these were ignored; others led to the passing of orders for reimbursement; only rarely did any of them bring him money or lands. It is astonishing to find how often Parliament considered Wither's situation during these years and at least arrived at the point of passing a law providing for his relief. The chart (pp. 94, 95), much condensed, may render the poems more significant, since it shows the main financial events of his career. The five columns exhibit, in order, his petitions for help, orders by Parliament or other government agencies for satisfying his needs, money actually paid him, estates he received, and offices he held or for which his name was proposed.

Here, then, is the record of the disappointments and vicissitudes of a poet who mistook his vocation and allowed himself to be diverted, like so many writers of the time, from Parnassus to Pisgah, from *L'Allegro* to *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defense*. Unlike his greater contemporary, Milton, he was unable to regain the sublime heights of poetry and of serene contemplation of life. We should gladly have spared the accompanying pamphlets, and, indeed, most of his voluminous writings after 1641, for a few more poems of the sweetness of his *Shepherd's Hunting* and *Fair Virtue*. However, one thing can be said of such works as the present: they are in a way more genuine than the lighter lyrics. During the stormy years from 1642 to 1660, pretty songs seemed to Wither, as did Italian travel to Milton, a disgraceful betrayal of his fellow countrymen fighting for liberty. Poetry, to justify its existence, needed to establish contacts with the sterner facts of life — the sufferings, hopes, and fears of men. The value of the little works here reprinted lies in the light they shed on the life of a typical Englishman of the Commonwealth, who watched his Utopia crumble into ruins and its glory fade into the light of common day.

The following reprints, though not facsimiles, are line-for-line transcripts of the Huntington Library copies of the original editions. The only important typographical change has been the substitution of the modern short *s* for the old long *ſ*.

[1] *Westrow Revived* (1653), *passim; To the . . . Parliament . . . The Humble Declaration and Petition of Major Geo. Wither* [n. d. (*ca.* 1647)].

## ( 1 )

## The tired Petitioner,

TO

His noble Friends, who are Members of the honourable House of Commons.

SIRS, if this *Paper* find you (who, to me
Are not so fully knowne, as you should be)
It comes to move, that, my *Petitions* may
Obtaine your Answer without more delay;
Lest by *Attendance* (as my Neighbours do)
With my *Estate*, I lose my *Patience* too.
For, I have waited, and endur'd so long,
That, no *Result* can doe me greater wrong
Then lingring hopes; And, were I quite undone,
I, possibly, another course might run
To be repair'd again, ere I obtaine
That Benefit, which I, had hope to gaine:
Or, els, might find some other likely way
To fit me for the part I have to play.
Some say my *Friends* are moe then I do know:
And, I am hopefull that it may be so;
For, if kind language, and much complement
Are signes thereof; nor *Christendome*, nor *Kent*
Knowes any man who may himselfe apply
Unto your *House*, with better hopes then I:
But, if by *reall-deeds*, it must be known
What *Friends* I have, their *number* small is grown:
Or, els, their *Pow'r* attaineth not unto
Those Friendly Offices they wish to do;
And, peradventure, they obstructed be
In their endeavours, by defects in me.

( 2 )

It may be 'tis observ'd, I want *Relations*,
*Guifts-qualifying*, or those *Commendations*
That should advance my *Suites*; and, which do make
Those active, who, mens *Causes* undertake;
And I halfe think it so: For, e're this day,
Some one or other had, els, gotten way
For my Petitions; or appeared able
To make my *suites* and *me* considerable;
Since, other,swho have neither *lo;t*, nor *spent*,
Nor for the *Publike*, hazzarded or lent
*Life*, *Limb*, or *money*; (yea, though they, before,
Had profitable places) meet with more
Successe then I; and, daily can be heard
With expedition, and with good regard.
But, (whatsoe're the other causes are
Why thus it comes to passe) this, doth appear,
That, they who now are my *Competitors*,
Have so o'rematched my *Solicitors*,
That, if I speed, your *House*, will prove, to me,
A better *Friend* then *Individuals* be.
I find, that, many who, a while agoe,
Appear'd for me, do now (*Gradatim*) grow
Elsewhere ingag'd. I find, that, they begin
To reckon, how the *place* hath valued been;
And, to expostulate, and to admire
How, I, to an *Employment* dar'd aspire
Of *Trust* or *Worth;* who, am dispoil'd of that,
Which (in their judgment) should secure the *State:*
As if, a known *unblamed-Conversation*
Were no *Security;* or, out of fashion:
As if, my *portion*, in the *publike* hand,
Might not, aswell, for *good-assurance* stand,
As if it were in mine: Or, as if he
Who, for his *Country*, prodigall could be
Of all he had, deserv'd not to be thought
As trusty, as they are, who, never, ought
Adventur'd; nor had ought, but what they got
By gaining *Trust*, where they deserv'd it not.

If

( 3 )

If all were weigh'd, admire they rather may
That, I my paines dare venture in a way
Wherein, I have so often sought in vain,
Those things, which unto me. of right, pertain.
They might admire, that I, who have not bin
A *Servant*, nor, am known to be, of kin
To *Peer* or *Commoner;* nor have the skill
To make a *Partie;* nor, thereto, a *Will:*
That, I who follow *Suites*, as if I thought,
That Justice, should be neither sold nor bought,
Or got by importunities; save, where
The *Judge* doth neither GOD, nor *Mortal* fear:
That, I, should ever hope to compasse that,
Which any other thinkes worth aiming at;
Since, cause, perhaps enough, is found, why none
Thus minded, should presume to think npon
A *Place of profit;* and, conceive to get
His hopes, by *merit*, *honesty*, or *wit:*
For, I do find that, in this *undertaking*
Great rubs are made (and many other making)
So troublesome to passe, that, I am tir'd:
And, had I but that competence acquir'd,
Which I have lost; this life, I would not live,
For all, the *King* and *Parliament* could give.
One, of your *Order*, told me, at your dore
Since my *last-suite* was tendred (and, before
He had perused it) that, I deserved
No *Favour:* (Oh! how strangely have I swerved!)
But, as, I to his face, made answer, then,
So, now, I say, (and I will say't agen)
Let me receive but *Justice*, and I'le wave
All *humane-Mercie;* and, yet hope to have
A happier condition by the same
Then that, whereto, I now exposed am.
Another of them tells me, that, in vain,
I seek, what I make suit for, in the *maine*,
Whil'st I am in *Confinement:* As if, you
Could but one *Blessing*, at one time, allow:

( 4 )

Or els, as if, because I now have had
(Like one, of whom the slight'st account is made)
Nine Months *Restraint* (and, thereby am become
A *Bond-man*, without either *formall-doome*
Or, *Breach of Law*,) I, therefore, must expect,
My chiefe desire, will find the lesse effect:
Which seemes to me, as if a man should say,
The more he *owes*, the lesse he means to *pay*.
A third man intimates; because, he sees
I wear not, yet *Sheeps-leather*, or *Welch-freeze;*
(But, by GOD'S blessing, hitherto have borne
My usuall *Port*, to put aside the scorne
Of *Knaves* and *Fooles*) that I am not undone
Sufficiently, to be so thought upon
As I desire: But, such as these prolong
The publike Judgements, and our private wrong,
Through want of reall feeling what we bear
Whose *plaints* they pocket, and whose cries they heare
Without regard: For, when we most are griev'd,
So little of our suffrings is believ'd,
As if men had nor heart nor power to think,
That ought we ayl'e, till we be dead and stink.
A fifth, doth much perswade me to forbeare
My present *Suite;* because he seemes to fear
My late *bold-numbers* have incenst so many,
That, I shall hardly find regard from any,
When I expect it: which, to be believed,
(Where I have hope with grace to be received)
Is so abominable; that, I trust
To find their *Generall-Conclusions* just,
(Though I in *person, goods*, and *reputation*,
Have lately suffered by misinformation:)
For (thought I otherwise) I would disdain
To them, for *Grace* or *Justice* to complain;
Though I were plung'd, into a worse condition,
Then seems approaching, by my last Petition.
I cannot fear that they who *true-men* be,
Will for *true-speaking* be displeas'd with me,

But

( 5 )

But, rather, by vouchsafing what I crave
Be glad the Kingdome may occasion have
To see their Justice, by repairing him,
Who gave himselfe, to be undone for them:
For them, who buy lesse honour, at the price,
Then may be purchased by this device.
  But, hitherto, my hopes, do not succeed
According to my suffrings, and my need.
Two *Monthes*, upon *one* Suite, I have bestowne;
Upon a former, thrice three *Monthes*, and *one;*
Upon *another*, foure times three, and nine;
Yet, still, some other *Cause* out-justles mine:
And, ev'n by favours hitherto obtained,
More Mischiefes, then Advantages, are gained;
Because, in th'execution, they have wanted
That influence, whereby they first were granted.
  This, with uncrazed patience I can bear,
So long as my desires delay'd appear,
By those affaires, which profitable bee
Unto the *Publike*, though they hinder mee;
Since, whilst that thrives, I cannot be bereft
Of all my hopes, nor comfortlesse be left.
But, if I still perceive my Suites delay'd,
Or crost, for *Private-ends;* I am afraid
My *Greevances*, will make my *Plaints* outroare
The *Cries*, of all the Women at your dore.
  Preserve I would, according to my might,
My *Private-Freedomes*, with our *Publike-Right;*
And, Wise-men will consider, that, unlesse
They heed, sometime, a single-mans distresse,
(At least in his extreames) that, one by one,
The *Generality* may be undone;
And, that, a bruise upon the smallest-toe
May cause the bodies totall overthrow.
  In me (although my sufferings are despis'd)
The *Common-Greevance*, is epitomis'd;
And, as, this day, the *Kingdomes* Cause doth lye
Distrest between two *Factions*, so do I;

( 6 )

For, what some would have granted for my sake,
Is crost, for *their sakes*, who the motion make;
And, that man, by no party groweth strong,
Who sides not with it, both in *Right*, and *Wrong*.
In all things which, undoubtedly appeare,
Unto my Conscience, I, to both adhere;
And, do from neither, purposely dissent,
To make a Schisme, or nourish discontent.
I have in both, professed *Foes* and *Friends;*
In both, I have some hopes, on both, some ends;
But, without all designments upon either,
Save, how I may unite them, both together,
In such a Posture, as may free this Land
From those distructions, that seeme neer at hand;
And, wooe them to be just, in every Action,
Without tespect to *Friend*, to *Foe* or *Faction*.
Who e're, among you, shall thus minded be,
Whether he seem to love or malice me,
Whether he be of th'one to'ther side,
Whether my Suites be *granted* or denide,
By his endeavourings; it shall not wrest
My thoughts, for any private interest,
To murmur at him; so, he will befriend
My Suite so much, to bring it to an end:
That, from your Labyrinths, I may retire;
And, be again at leisure to enquire
What will become of Me; and, what of Them,
Who take the *Courses*, which I most contemn.
For, to retreat, and gotten ground to yeeld,
Is, otherwhile, the meanes to win a field;
And, he that would turne Floods another way,
Must dig his *Draine*, before he builds his Bay.

*Heu; Temporum, prævaricati Mores!*
*Quis, delegabit* Misero *favores?*
*Quis, auscultabit* Populi *Clamores?*
*Vel, quis pensabit* Pauperum *Dolores?*

*Nemo,*

## ( 7 )

*Nemo, fert Opem*, viro perituro;
*Sic* ERAT, EST, *ac* ERIT *in futuro;*
*Vt olim, tamen, in hæc Verba juro,*
Nec Habeo, nec Careo, nec Curo.

Nec Habeo, *quod visus sum habere;*
Nec Careo, *quod multi caruêre,*
Nec Curo, *quamvis devoratus ferè;*
*Nam, Deo Vero, spem repono, verè.*

Which is in English to this effect.

Oh! how corrupt this *Age* in manners growes!
Who, to the *Miserable*, mercy showes?
Who, on the *Peoples* cries, an ear bestowes?
Or, who compassionates the *Poore-mans* woes?

To succour the *Distressèd*, none appear;
Thus 'twas, thus 'tis; and thus I'me like to fare:
Yet, as of old, this *Motto*, still, I bear;
*I neither have, nor want, nor do I care.*

*I have not*, what I had a while agoe;
*I want not*, that, which many others do;
*Nor care I*, though I quite neglected grow;
For, I in GOD confide, and will do so.

*A Post-script.*

He, that hath *Money* to procure his ends,
Needs neither strain his *wits*, nor tire his *Friends*.
He, that hath *Friends*, his matters to contrive,
May (though he hath nor Wit, nor Money) live.
He, that hath *Wit*, and wants the former two,
May live more richly, then he seemes to do.
He, that hath *two* of these, und wants but one,
Can neither happy be, nor quite undone.
He, that hath all of *these*, might be a *King*,
If he could wish, to be so poore a thing:
And, he that is depriv'd of all the *three*,
May be an *English-man*, for ought I see.

*FINIS*.

## CARMEN-TERNARIUM SEMI-CYNICUM.

### A *DOS*, of RIME and REASON:

*Presented by Major* Geo. Wither, *to some of his* noble Friends, *Members of the most honourable House of Commons.*

1. F*Riends*, by your leave; and, in a *Cynick-time*,
If I present you with a *Doggrell-Rime*,
Impute it not, I pray you, as a crime:
For, whatsoe're occasion her excites,
My *Muse* weighs *what*, and unto whom she writes;
And, though she grumbles, neither snarles, nor bites.
2. 'Tis now, a *Pentecost*, and six weeks more,
Since I was last a Suitor at your doore;
For, 'twas your *Christmasse* Eves-Eve heretofore:
Yea, 'twas the *Morne* that next ensu'd the day,
Wherein you did convene to fast, and pray,
That, what you now are planting, prosper may.
3. God grant your *Suits* may better thrive then mine;
God give you of your *hopes* a better signe;
And, more to *you*, then *you* to *me* incline:
For, if much longer, I be now delay'd,
My just *Demands*, to me had best been pay'd,
If, at the first, they had been quite denay'd.
4. This, is (in *print* and writing) since th' Edition
Of that, which first made knowne my sad condition,
At least the twice ten hundreth *Repetition;*
Yet, most *Complaints*, that I have tendered,
Seem; as if neither heeded, heard, nor read,
And, take effect, like *Prayers* to the *Dead.*
5. This, is above the *six and thirti'th yeare*,
Since first, my *Muses* flung defiance, here,
Against their *waies*, who now your foes appeare;
Yet, they who slight your *Cause*, have better far'd;
They, who destroy you, have had more regard,
And, oft you heare them, when I am unheard.
6. This, is the nineth or tenth *new-minted-way*,
By which, I've took occasion to assay,
How, I might find acceptance, when I pray;

Yet, nor choise *Times*, nor *Seasons*, *Rimes* nor *Prose*,
*Service* to you, nor *Suffrings*, by your foes,
Produce ought hitherto, but *empty-showes*.
7. This, is the *seventh year*, since I begun
To suffer with you, and to be undone,
For, being, to your *Cause*, a *Faithfull-one;*
Yet, have my Foes prevailed, by their *Charmes*,
To make my faithfulnesse increase my harms,
And, crush'd me, nigh to death, ev'n in your *Armes*.
8. This, is the *third moneth*, since a hopefull *signe*,
Made shew, as if you joyntly did incline
To be aspitious to such *plaints* as mine:
Yet, still, crosse accidents make void my suit,
With my estate, destroying my repute,
And, I get nought, but *blossoms* without *fruit*.



9. *Two twelve moneths* since, and twice within that space,
Your *House*, hath in compassion of my *case*,
Referr'd the naming of me to some *Place*,
That, till the *Publike* shall repay my debt,
I, by my labours, might subsistence get;
But, no effect thereof, appeareth, yet.
10. A place was once propos'd, for which, to cleare
My debt, I offer made: But, *one* sate there,
Who, whilst I beat the bush, did catch the Hare.
Another, I was nam'd to; but, ere I
Could get the same reported, they, who trie
The surest course, found means to put me by.
11. To twenty other *places*, I of late
Was nam'd, wherein, I might have serv'd the *State*,
If, I, like other men, had *Friends* or *Fate*:
But, they that have enough, must, yet, have more;
They, who are needy, must be still kept poore,
And, he gets most, that had too much before.
12. Nor would I grudge, might I my own receive,
To misse the best preferments you could give;
For, I can find my self work whilst I live:

And, should be better pleased to possesse
My self, in an obscured quietnesse,
Then, in the greatest of your Offices.
13. And, peradventure, better thrive should I,
If, I could still beleeve, undoubtingly,
That, in this *world*, my *portion* doth not lie:
For, whatsoever promise she doth make,
Or, whatsoever likely course I take,
I, either nothing win, or lose my stake.
14. Yea, whosoever are put *out* or *in;*
Whether you *feast*, or *fast*, or *lose*, or *win*,
My *portion*, to this day, the same hath been;
And, neither *Orders*, *Votes*, nor *Ordinances*,
Nor ought else, hitherto, my cause advances;
But, multiplies, cost, troubles, and mischances.
15. They, who heed this; and, mark how long I sue
For that, which you your selves acknowledge due,
Suppose my *Friends* unkind, or, very few:
And, so shall I think too; if, when I see
The *grand-affairs* dispens'd withall may bee,
You, more consider not, my wants and mee.
16. For, though the *Publike cause* should be preferr'd,
Some houres, for *private causes*, must be spar'd,
Lest, none be left, the *Publike* to regard.
Your *publike actings* too, (as I conceive)
Would better thrive, did you more oft relieve
Their *suffrings*, whom, your long *demurrers* grieve.
17. Three moneths (at full) you have delay'd to heare
All private *pressures*, how extreme soe're;
Yea, though your faithfull friends the *Suitors* were:
Yet, you could, then, allow spare time for those,
Who were your wilfull and condemned Foes:
And, grace you did vouchsafe, to some of those.

18. To

18. To none I grudg your mercy: yet, withall
I wish, that you to mind would likewise call,
How, to your *friends*, worse things then *Death* befall:

For, *Penitents* condemned, can but die:
Which, were it in my power, disdain would I,
To ask, what any mortall could deny.

19. To see our selves, with many mischiefs hemn'd,
Pursu'd by *Foes*, and of our *Friends* contemn'd,
Is worse, then guiltlesly to be condemn'd.
Yea, to behold their Families undone,
Who, for the *publike*, did that hazzard run,
Deserves more pity, then a *dying-grone*.

20. Although the *Publike Wants*, be very great,
The Publike-Justice, it doth ill befit
That, some, *large-Favour* find; some, *never a whit:*
That, some, should likewise have immediate pay;
Some, interest at full, for all delay;
Some others, *nothing*, after six years stay.

21. That he, to whom the *State* doth nothing owe,
Should rich, by three or foure *employments* grow,
Whilst they pine, who, thereon did all bestow:
And, that those who have spent more pretious time,
To serve you, then the whole earth can redeem,
Should scarce find one half-houre, befriending them.

22. Consider, I beseech you, how ye may
(Before all *Opportunities* are slipt away)
Preserve their *being*, who assist you may;
And, let them not be needlessely destroyd,
By whom, your *safety*, may be best enjoyd;
And, with whose *hopes*, yours, also, will be voyd.

23. Nor think your selves excus'd, if you deny
To yeeld me at my need, a due supply;
Because, five hundred want as much as I:
For, no good *Principle*, they build upon
Who shall resolve, they will be kind to *none*,
Because, they cannot succour *ev'ry one*.

24. We who are *Standers-by*, do plainly see,
That, if *self-seekers* might removed bee,
(Or, would in just, and righteous things agree)
Both *Means*, and *Time* enough might, yet, be found,
To make the sick *Republike*, quickly sound,
And, ease the smart of ev'ry private wound.

25. Yea, we perceive, that if division were
Well made, of what the *common purse* may spare;
(Of *places*, which at your disposure are)
And, of your *time* and *paines;* you might have eas'd
Your selves much more; your best friends, more have pleas'd,
And, kept off *troubles*, which on us have seiz'd.
26. New *States* and *Governments*, best founded are
By *Justice*, and by *Mercy*; and, to spare
A *Largesse* too, it now convenient were:
At least, we may expect, as well as you,
Subsistence out of that which is our due,
To keep us able, who were alwaies true.

 26. For,

27. For, what will it availe you, when your friends,
Who, might be serviceable to your ends,
Want means to further what the State intends?
Or, with what courage, can those men go on,
To help you, in that work which is begun,
If, they must perish, e're it shall be done?
28. What can they hope for, when their *Foe* shall raign,
Who, whilst their *Friends* rule, sue seven years, in vaine,
(Not *Favors*) but, bare *Justice* to obtain?
Yet, get nought visible, wherewith to cherish
Their children (which through want are like to perish)
Except perchance a Pension from their Parish.
29. My case is not so bad: But, if you thought
How neere thereto, I'me drove; how low I'me brought,
And, what hard lessons I am daily taught,
You would excuse this *discomposed-strain*,
Believe my head broke, e're you saw my brain;
And, let me sue, and wait, no more in vain.
30. For, if extremities compell me should
To summe up all, which I in scraps have told,
(And justly might have added, if I would)
They, who observe the love to me pretended,
How known I am, and yet how ill befriended,
Would quite despair, to see their troubles ended.

31. Fair promises, prove neither flesh nor fish;
My gaines are, hitherto, not worth a rush;
But that befalls me, which my Foes do wish.
For, when to do me right, fit time there was,
Some friends lackt power; some, were not then in place;
And, some, that had the power, had not the grace.
32. Your *Ordinance*, the Lords concurrence lackt,
And, my estate, and credit, will be crackt,
Unlesse, with speed, you turn it to an *Act:*
Few minutes may compleat it; which I pray
Vouchsafe; For, by the late three moneths delay,
I, six moneths interest, am like to pay.
33. *Bis dat, qui citò dat*, the *Proverb* saies;
And, 'tis as true, that, he, who long delaies
A *Favour* or a *Gift*, nought *gives*, or *paies*.
For, by *delay*, thus fareth it with most,
That, by vexation, labour, time, and cost,
The profits of slow Benefits, are lost.
34. But, I, this *Theam*, have long enough persude:
Lest, therefore it may tire you (to obtrude
Much more upon your patience) Ile conclude:
Yea, for a few daies, here Ile make a stop;
And, if I then, accomplish not my hope,
Ile play but one *Card* more; and, so, give up.
35. As much for others sakes, as for mine own
This sense, of private suffrings, I have shown:
And hope, it will with good effects be known,
For, when I mind what work you have to do,
And, how few, put their helping hands thereto,
I can excuse you; and, have oft done so.

*FINIS.*

( 1 )

# A TIMELIE CAVTION

Comprehended in thirty seven *Double Trimeters*, occasioned by a late Rumour of an Intention, suddenly to Adjourn this *Parliament:* And *Superscribed*, to those whome it most concernes; *September* 10. 1652.

*Amicj Legite; Veridicum Credite, Veritatem Diligite.*

---

By G. W. A faithfull servant to this Republik.

---

IT made a *Dumbe Child* speake, to see,
His *Fathers* life, in Ieopardy:
And, such a *Passion* swells in me.
To vent it, therefore, leave I crave;
For, dread of *sadder things* I have,
Then *single Murthers*, or a *Grave.*

I find most men regardless grown,
Of *Publicke dangers*, and their owne,
Yet, my *Conjecture* shall be shown,
That, when my *words* are proved trve,
It may appear, I some things knew,
Which might have been of use, to *you.*

*Birth's*, then unborn, are eight years old,
Since in *Ænigmas*, *one* foretold,
What, many, do fulfil'd behold;
And at that time, some *Hints* had we,
Of things, that would attempted be,
In *Fifty two*, and *Fifty three.*

Now harken, therefore, and give *Creed*,
To him, who biddeth you take heed,
How, *other men*, and *You*, proceed;

( 2 )

That, *You*, together may abide,
Till we *expedients* can provide,
For what is likely to betide.

Else, *they* who seeme to be your *Friends*,
May prosecute, for private ends,
What, your *apparant* Foe intends;
And, when disperst abroad you are,
Accomplish that, which many fear,
And prove as false as they appear.

For, we, who search the depths to finde:
Of what is secretly *design'd*,
Perceive *Old mischiefs*, new refin'd;
Which, if no *powre* the same prevent,
Will from each other, shortly rent,
Each Member of this *Parliament.*

T'is thought, that some are gone away,
To that intent; and, that some stay,
To winne the rest, their *Game* to play:
So, when you are seduc'd become,
To leave your *Charge*, and stragle home,
None shall to them be troublesome.

It is confessed to be trve,
That, of your *Shippe*, there are but few,
To whom her *Pilotage* is due;
And, so longe time upon the *Seas*,
It hath been tost, that, now, to *these*
There should allowance be of, *Ease*.

Yet, since the *Vessell* (bruiz'd and torn)
A *Tempest*, of twelue years hath borne,
And promiseth a rich *Returne;*
*Beare up;* and stoutly persevere:
For, your wish'd *Harbour*, now is neere;
And, you, may speedily be there.

as

( 3 )

As *Paul*, said once, to those who saild,
With him (when each mans courage faild,
And their endeavours nought availd)
So, say I now; *Continve*, *still*,
Within the Shipp and waite his will:
Who can your honest hopes fullfill.

For, if your selves you shall betake,
To that *Retreat*, which some would make;
You hazzard all, unto a *Wrack:*
And, where you *Safetie* think to find,
They will to you prove more unkind,
Then *Rocks*, or *Wherlpools*, *Waves*, or *Wind*.

Although *your selves* you must *renew*,
Before those wishes will ensue,
Which, your *endeavours* do pursue;
Yet, in your *Weakness* doth remaine,
That *Strength*, whereby, God will sustaine,
And build up, what he doth *Ordaine*.

Wee, therefore, justly may suspect,
That, they who zealously project,
A *Change;* will find no good effect;
Till God hath ripend *you*, and *them*,
To joyne more seriously with *him*,
In building *New Jerusalem*.

Or, till a *dotage* on those things,
Which brought destruction on our *Kings*,
On us, the same *Correction* brings.
For, then, of this *event* be sure;
*Disorder*, shall *Disorder cure*,
Till none remaines, that is impure.

Be therefore warned, and be wise;
And, what these *Trimeters* advise,
Do not, disdainfully, despise:

( 4 )

Nor think, I, from *good manners* erre,
Though, I, thus venture, to prefer,
These *Lines*, for your *Remembrancer.*

On your *well-being*, mine depends;
And, though you are not all my *Frinds*,
My love, to all of you extends:
And, whil'st I have abiding heere,
You, now and then, are like to heare,
What I *beleive*, *thinke*, *hope*, and *fear.*

You, better know, then I can tell,
Amid'st what *Enemies* you dwell;
And, what they feare, who wish you well.
Your *Prudence* also, may surmize,
What mischieves, might this *Land* surprize,
If, at this *Juncture*, you should *rise.*

*Not without Cause*, wee have, of late,
Provok'd a *Foe*, which to this *State*,
Expresseth an unequal'd hate:
And (truth to say) there could not be,
*Accord* twixt us, till *They* and *Wee*,
Had meanes, each others *Powre* to see.

For, *selfe esteeme*, on tother side,
Had puft them up, with so much *pride*,
That, till by some *Euents* we tride,
What *mischievs*, from our *Emnities*,
Vnto each, other, might arise;
We could have had no long-liv'd *Peace:*

But, *They* and *Wee*, shall now perchance,
Know shortly, what will most advance,
Our *Weales;* and foot a better *Dance:*
Meane while, it will concern us neer,
That, you should keep together, heere,
And, in a *well-fill'dHouse* appeare.

For, such a *Breach*, with such a *Foe*,
And, *other things*, (requiring so

[One line is evidently torn from the bottom of the page.]

( 5 )

Invite a speedy *calling in*
Of those, that longe have absent bin,
And, make you, dayly, sit so thin.

Then, hence depart, not, yet, a way;
Nor loose an *hower*, whilst heere you stay;
But, doe your *duties*, whilst you may.
For, your *short time*, doth swiftly runn,
And many, things are to be done,
E're you, with *safetie*, can be *gone*.

Who can be sure (if you *Adjorne*,
He shall not drop in to his *Vrn*,
Before this *Parliament* returne?
Nay, who can tell us, that it shall,
*Return*? Or, what *sad-thing*, to all
This *Nation*, may meanewhile befall?

Establish therefore, e're you go,
Some *Settlement;* that, we may know,
What, in *Immergencies*, to do.
*Remember*, too, what heretofore,
Was *Promis'd*; And, when you give o're,
Leave no man crying, at your *doore*.

I meane, leave none, who, justly there
May make *Complaint;* or, whom to hear,
Or to relieve, oblig'd you are.
At leastwise, leave them *so*, that, they
Acknowledge your *Compassion* may,
And, blesse you, when they go away.

Your *Mercy*, to your *Foes*, extends.
Do *Justice*, also, to your *Friends*,
On whose *well-being*, yours depends:
For, you can neither *Sit*, nor *Rise*
In safe or honourable wise,
Whil'st their *Complaint*, neglected lies.

But

( 6 )

But, who both *Friends*, and *Foes* can please?
Or, hope, to bring to passe, with ease,
Such *difficult-effects*, as these?
*YOV* may: for, my good *Angle* sings,
The probable Accomplishings,
Of *these*, and of much *harder things*.

There is a *day*, now near at hand,
Injoyned by your owne *Command*,
To crave *GOD'S* blessing, on this *Land:*
And, hee, yet, gives both *Time*, and *Place*,
To seek the favour of his *Face:*
Yea, seemes to offer, his *embrace*.

Then, in your *hearts*, your selves prepare,
(As soone as you this *Warning* heare)
Within his *presence*, to appear.
And, as *one Person*, let us *all*,
That *day*, before his *Foostoole fall*,
Vpon his *holy name*, to call.

So, *hee*, shall *help*, and *teach* us, too,
What to *beleeve*, what things to do;
How long to *stay;* what time to *goe;*
And, gard our *Coast*, much better, than
Our *Fleets*, and our three *Armies*, can,
Or, all the *strength*, and *wit*, of man.

But, tis a *hundred*, tho, to *one*,
If my *Advise* be thought upon,
Till *Opportunities* are gone:
For, though this *Age* doth much approve,
Of *Revelations* from above,
And, what the *Spirit* seemes to move,

Yet, most are so in love with *Lies*,
And, *Pride*, *selfe-ends*, and *vanities*
So deafs their *Eare*, so dimms their *Eyes;*

That

( 7 )

That, such are credited by fewe,
who alwayes tell them what is true:
And, what this may *protend;* Judge *you.*

And, judge aright of his *Intent,*
Who, *Publick damage* to prevent,
Thus ventures, *private detriment:*
For, *They,* whom *you* most ought to fear,
As soone as they, this CAVTION heare,
Will either *Frowne,* or *Carpe,* or *Jeer.*

And, hope, to pick *occasion* hence,
So to prevaricat the sense,
That, some in Power, may take offence;
To, bring upon him, back againe,
(*Like Clouds returning after Raine*)
The *Troubles,* he did late sustaine.

But, *hee,* now *Forty yeares,* and more,
Dispights, without Despaire, hath bore;
And, if he live another *Score,*
Shall see his *Foes,* as he hath done,
Drop, yearly, hence, by *One* and *One,*
Till, all, who malice him, are gone.

And, as their *Number* groweth lesse,
So, shall they, every day increase,
Who truly seeke, the *Publick Peace:*
And, He, or *his;* And *you,* or *your,*
shall see *Oppressions* fatall hour,
And, JVSTICE, gaine the *Soveraigne powre.*

LORD! be it thus; and give thy *Grace,*
To all that are in *Publick place,*
To joyne in bringing this to pass:
Uouchsafe them *Patience,* too, to bear,
Their *Tryalls;* who, must suffer, here,
Vntill thy *Kingdome* shall appear.

Poscript

## A POSTCRIPT:

*Twas sayd (since forth these Lines were sent)*
*The lately* Rumored Intent,
*Of an* ADIOVRNE, *was not approov'd*
*By many; nor, in* Publik, *moov'd:*
*And*, hee, *from whome this* Caution *came*,
*Is glad, it was a* Lying-Fame:
*And, these* Expressions *had forbore*,
*Might he have heard so much before.*
*Yet, since, Just cause, that* Rumovr *gave*,
*Of what, in these fewe* Leaves, *you have;*
*Since, also, there be* Various Vses,
*Of all, that* Providence *produces;*
*Some use of* these, *there may be, too:*
Among you, therefore, *let them goe.*
*For, when leaves fall from every Tree*,
*Ev-n*, WITHER'D Leaves, *in season be*;
*And, (at the worst) will serve the turne*,
*To make* dull-Fires, *more apt to burne.*

*Some things, do* Seeme; *And*, are not, so:
*Some*, Are; *and, thereof*, make no showe.

*London*, Printed by *John Clowes*, and are to be sould by the Booke sellers in *Westminster-Hall*, and Else-where

FINIS.

( 1 )

# PREDICTIONS

OF THE

## Overthrow of Popery,

And the Landing of the

# Prince of Orange

IN THE

# WEST:

Written by *George Wither* Esquire, in the year 1660. And some Proposals for [a]

## PERPETUAL PARLIAMEN[T]

Written by the same Author in 1652.

TO Act the last Scene which proceeds their *Doom*,
They now new vampt upon the Stage are come;
And, though that with the *King*, as if his Friends
They seem to side, they come for other ends,
*Which* he not yet discerning, in his Grace
Vouchsafes them a considerable Place,
And of prevailing they already boast,
As if they saw the LAMB and all his Host
Quite overthrown, which me as confident
Hath made that *God* their proud hopes will prevent,
And overthrow that *Tyranny* out-right,
By what they Dream shall raise it to its height.
But many *Tryals* must the *Saints* abide,
And very much their patience will be try'd
Here and elsewhere before that *Act* is done,
Which with an Anti-mask is now begun.
Our *Friends* inhabiting beyond the *Waters*,
And who were of our Tragedy Spectators,
Now Twenty years (though they perceive it not,
Or seem not to perceive it) in that Lot

( 2 )

Which these have cast for us, designed are
(Or in what follows next) to have a share,
For *Hamans* PURS on foot; not only here,
But likewise almost every other where.
And these think that to take them by his *Gin*,
With most speed, is, with us first to begin.
But there's a *Counter-Mine*, which will be sprung,
To blowup them, and all their Mines e're long, *&c.*
——————————————wherein they see
The *Beasts* late *deadly wound* nigh cur'd to be,
They on a sudden, are become as Jolly,
As if they thought it to be cured wholly;
And, to impose their *Mark*, will now begin
To be more strict than ever they have been;
So that e're long, few men shall live in peace,
Bear *Office*, or a free Estate possess
Where they have power, unless they marked are
*In Hand*, or *Forehead*, with their Character.
But, if that, whereof some imperfect views
Far off appear, accordingly ensues,
There will to thwart their hopes, a new *Star blaze*
Within the West, that shall the World *amaze*;
And *influences* through the *Vniverse*
So quickly, and prodigiously disperse,
That, aided by concurring *Constellations*,
It shall have some effects upon most *Nations*,
And cause such *changes*, as will make a stand
In those Attempts which they have now in hand.
Yet know, it will but a *diversion* be,
Not that which must from *Bondage* set us free.
We, on this side the *Water* are not yet, { *Printed* Anno
Confus'd enough, that *order* to beget { 1652.
Which must establish us, and shall therefore
*Pursue Self-interest* a little more.
With *new Wine* our *old Bottles* must be fill'd,
(Endangering *Wine* and *Bottles* to be spill'd)
Till such as are in *power* be pleased to hear
The Counsel of a *slighted Engineer*.
With *new Cloth* our old *Garments* patcht must be,
(Whereby the *Rents* made wider ye shall see)

Till

( 3 )

Till every *old Rag* be worn out, and then
The *Robe* so rent shall be renew'd again.
And they that own it, be secured more,
And much more dignified, than heretofore.
If they who must compleat it, make their choice
By *Lot divine*, as well as humane *voice*.
Whereto *Self-seekers* never will agree,
Until enforced by some *streights* they be.
Before the *Sons of Jacob* entrance found
Into their *Promis'd Land*, they had a round,
Or progress to fulfil, and many years
They in the *Desarts* were *Probationers*,
By several hardships, thereby to improve
The *Seeds of Faith*, new sown at their remove
From *Egypt*, and by *Signs* and *Wonders* shown
To make unto themselves their frailties known.
But they at each restraining of their Lust,
Brake forth into repinings and distrust;
Yea, into flat *Rebellion*, into rearing
Of *Idols* (when his Law God was preparing)
Into a wicked causless Murmuring
Against the Means of their delivering
From *Egypt*'s Tryal, and into Wishes vain,
That they might thither back return again.
For which of many hundred thousands none
Enjoy'd the *Promis'd Rest*, but two alone.
And we are just like them, yea, we have done,
Since *God*, to bring us from our *Thrall* begun,
The very same things in the *Wilderness*
Of our *Probation;* and our Carcases
Shall there be left, unless we do betimes
Make an Attonement for our passed Crimes;
And with unfeignedness that course pursue
Which leads unto the Rest, that is in view, *&c.*
There is a course whereby, without disgrace,
Or *danger*, you may bring that *work* to pass,
And free your selves from that great cost and pain,
Which without thanks or profit you sustain;
Afflicting others too, by those *Confusions*
Which are increast by your irresolutions.

Until

( 4 )

Until a better therefore shall appear,
Be pleased that Expedient to hear,
And by those *preventions, or that good*
It promiseth, you find a likelihood,
Take heed, that no self-interest, divert
That approbation, whereunto your heart
Inclineth you; for *God* will find you out,
And cross the *Counter-work* you go about.
In *England* and in *Wales*, there is a *Shire*,
For ev'ry Week that's numbred in the year.
By *Twelve*, according to the *Months* divide
The *Counties*, with their Persons qualified
For *Knights* and *Burgesses*, proportioning
As near as may be, to an equalling
The *number* of the whole, so, or so many
Unto each Month, without omitting any.
Ascertain then, the Month and Day, wherein
Each *twelfth part* an Election shall begin;
(The middle of the Week, appearing best,
As being furthest from the day of Rest.)
On each first *Wednesday*, of each Month, let those
By whom our *Deputies* are to be chose,
Respectively convene in ev'ry Shire,
Upon that Month, and *Wednesday* ev'ry year,
Which is to them assign'd; and having chosen,
(At Months end) let each twelfth part, of the dozen,
Send up their *Chosen men*, to represent
Their Shires and Boroughs in the Parliament;
And on that very Day, in which they come,
Let all their Predecessors give them Room.
Thus one *Month* some, and *Month* by *Month* for ever
Let each twelfth part, still orderly persever
To take a turn, till ev'ry Shire hath had
A *Month* in ev'ry year; and having made
Their choice, let them still *enter* and withdraw
Successively by a *perpetual Law*,
No man a *place of Trust*, supplying there,
At one *Election*, longer than one year.

The Book Intituled, The Perpetual Parliament, is designed to be Reprinted, and presented to all the Members.

*FINIS.*

# The Letters and Accounts of James Brydges 1705–1713

BY EDWARD LÉON HARVEY

THE personal and official correspondence and the accounts of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos (1674–1744), Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad from 1705 to 1713, are a part of the Stowe Manuscripts in the Huntington Library. This collection should not be confused with the Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum, though both came from Stowe House. The Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum were collected in the early nineteenth century by the first Marquis of Buckingham, were sold to the Earl of Ashburnham, and passed from his library to the Museum in 1883. The manuscripts from Stowe in the Huntington Library, referred to in this article as the "Stowe MSS," "consist of a great mass of muniments and personal papers of the families of Temple, Grenville, and Brydges — papers which through a series of intermarriages were ultimately deposited at Stowe."[1] The marriage which brought the Chandos letters and papers into the possession of the Grenville family at Stowe, was that of Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, grandson of George Grenville (the prime minister) and first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, to Lady Anna Elizabeth Brydges, on April 16, 1796. She was the daughter and sole heir of James, third and last Duke of Chandos, that is, the great-granddaughter of James Brydges, the first Duke.

The papers of these families of Temple, Grenville, and Brydges remained at Stowe practically up to the time (1921) when the House ceased to be a private residence. The Stowe manuscripts, sold by the family in that year, were bought from the Museum Book Store, in August, 1925, for Mr. Huntington.

James Brydges, the eldest son of James, the eighth Lord Chandos, was born on January 6, 1673/4. In 1698 he was elected member of

[1] See *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 93–95.

parliament for Hereford and began early to seek a public career for himself through the influence of friends, among whom were Godolphin, subsequently the lord treasurer, Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, and the Earl, later Duke, of Marlborough. The friendship with Marlborough began in 1698, and survived the dismissal and disgrace of the Duke in 1712.

Brydges' first public appointment was to the council of Prince George of Denmark, the lord high admiral, on March 29, 1703, a position he retained until February 8, 1704. In this capacity he supported the plans of Marlborough for the use of the fleet in the Mediterranean. In return, Marlborough's influence secured his appointment as Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad, on May 5, 1705, but he did not enter upon his duties until June 24, 1705. In January, 1712, after Marlborough's fall, he offered his resignation because he could not reconcile his loyalty to the Duke with his duty to the Queen; but he continued in office, and concluded his accounts on August 24, 1713.

Brydges succeeded to the barony on the death of his father, Lord Chandos, in October, 1714, and was created Viscount Wilton and Earl of Carnarvon later in the same month, and Marquis of Carnarvon and Duke of Chandos in April, 1719.

The Stowe MSS here considered are, briefly:

(*a*) MS 26, Brydges' "A Journall of my Daily Actions."

This journal covers the years from 1697 to 1702, the period of his early manhood, when he first came to London from Herefordshire, was married to his first wife, became a member of parliament, and was enlarging the circle of his acquaintances and seeking a public appointment. Some idea of the bulk of this journal is given below:

| | Pages |
|---|---|
| Volume I, January, 1696/7, to November, 1699 . . . . . | 190 |
| Volume II, December, 1699, to May, 1702 . . . . . | 110 |
| | 300 |

The folio pages, which are closely written in James Brydges' own hand, are roughly equivalent to pages of type. There are about 1920 entries, averaging about six days to each page.

(*b*) MS 8, Brydges' Accounts as Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad (1705–13).

The five volumes containing copies of the official accounts of Brydges as paymaster-general are large folios (the pages measuring 16¼ by 10½ inches) and bound in red morocco, gilt. The accounts, which are engrossed in a fine, large hand, form a complete series covering the War of the Spanish Succession on all fronts. The majority of them concern the expenses of the various regiments, both English and foreign, which are listed under the names of their commanders. The accounts of each regiment average about two pages and are divided into periods of 61 days for purposes of payment, payments being made per diem. The volumes are as follows:

| | Pages |
|---|---|
| Volume I, Low Countries, Spain, and Portugal, from June 24, 1705, to Dec. 23, 1706 | 373 |
| Volume II, Flanders, from Dec. 23, 1706, to Dec. 22, 1709 | 439 |
| Volume III, Flanders, from Dec. 23, 1709, to Aug. 24, 1713 | 395 |
| Volume IV, Spain and Portugal, from Dec. 24, 1706, to Dec. 22, 1709 | 379 |
| Volume V, Spain and Portugal, from Dec. 23, 1709, to Aug. 24, 1713 | 491 |

The covering dates conform with the statements of the compiler, but in each volume there are documents of later date.

(*c*) MS Series 57 and 58, Brydges' Correspondence.

The Stowe MS Series 57 contains fifty-seven volumes of copies of letters written by James Brydges to various correspondents between 1690 and 1744. One volume, November, 1720, to July, 1722, is missing. The Stowe MS Series 58 contains copies of the letters to Brydges from 1700 to September, 1712, twelve volumes. The following statement of the bulk of these letters is based upon the average number of letters per volume and the average number of pages of manuscript to a letter, but does not cover the letters in Series 57 beyond 1712, as those to Brydges end with the year 1712 for some unknown reason:

| | |
|---|---|
| Average number of letters per volume in each series | 220 |
| Average number of letters per page of manuscript | 1¼ |

| | Folio Pages |
|---|---|
| "Out" letters in Series 57, 8 volumes, 1690–1712 . . . . . | 2,100 |
| "In" letters in Series 58, 13 volumes, 1700 to Sept., 1712 . . | 3,290 |
| | 5,390 |

The pages are closely written and may be taken to be roughly equivalent to pages of type. There is an index volume to each series, as well as an index at the end of each volume.

More detailed descriptions of the manuscripts thus briefly summarized are given below.

(1) The Journal.

This is an entirely personal diary, beginning in January, 1696/7, and ending in May, 1702. It is the earliest but least important of the letters and accounts of James Brydges. Unlike the letters in Stowe MSS 57 and 58, which are copies, the entries in the journal are in Brydges' own hand.

He was 23 years old when he began the journal, hence there are no entries for the time when he was at New College, Oxford. Most of the entries are a clear, concise account of what he did, where he went, and whom he met, nearly always in London. The number of acquaintances is large, and, partly because he was heir to the barony of Chandos, partly because he began early and assiduously to cultivate influential friends, most of them were persons of some importance. For example, he went, on January 16, 1696/7, to dine at Lambeth Palace with the Archbishops of Canterbury (Thomas Tenison, translated from Lincoln) and York (John Sharp) and several bishops, returning to the City with them in the Archbishop's barge. Other interesting entries have references to the social customs and conversation at chocolate- and coffee-houses in the London of those days. Brydges made frequent visits to the House of Lords when it was in session, and sometimes reported briefly the debates and the bills before the House. Friends whom he met frequently were: Charles Montague, at that time chancellor of the exchequer, subsequently Lord Halifax; Dr. Charles D'Avenant, the economist, son of Sir William D'Avenant; the Earl of Marlborough, later the Duke; Sir Edward Harley (brother of Robert Harley), who became auditor of the imprest in 1702; Lord Sandwich; and the Duke of Shrewsbury.

The journal does not contain material of any importance, but has some interest as a document of social history, since it was written without any intention of publication and therefore has a sincerity of its own. It is useful for a student of the Chandos letters in Stowe MSS 57 and 58 to find, recorded in the journal, the beginnings of friendships, like that with Lord Marlborough, which later became significant.

(2) The Accounts.

These original accounts of James Brydges as paymaster-general, covering the period from June 24, 1705, to August 24, 1713, concern the War of the Spanish Succession in the Low Countries, Spain, and Portugal; the garrisons of Dunkirk and Gibraltar; Earl Rivers' expedition; and the expedition to Canada.

The accounts are divided into "Charge," "Discharge," and "Abstract." In the "Charge" the sums of money received by the paymaster are itemized under the following heads: pay for general officers, English regiments, foreign troops, forage to general officers, forage and wagon money to English regiments, forage to foreign troops, subsidies to foreign princes, bounty monies, horses lost by English and foreign troops, payments out of the poundage, extraordinary services, contingencies, transport, ordnance, and levy-money. The "Discharge" gives a full, itemized account of all the payments made under each of the headings listed in the "Charge." At the end of each section of accounts thus itemized, there is an "Abstract of the foregoing Account," giving the salient features of the sums received and spent at a glance, and serving as an index to the chief items. The general arrangement outlined above applies to all five volumes.

In the first volume, which covers the period June, 1705, to December, 1706, the accounts of the forces in Spain and Portugal are included with those of the Low Countries. When, in the following years, the campaigns in the Peninsula grew too large for the accounts to be included in the same volumes as those of Flanders, we find separate volumes for the former; but the space allotted is about equal in each case, as the expenses of the war in the Peninsula were greater in proportion to the number of troops employed.

The "Discharge" is the most important and detailed part of the

accounts. The proportion of "Discharge" to "Charge" is about seven to one. From these accounts, for instance, can be ascertained the pay of the various officers, from the commander-in-chief down to the provost marshal, and the total annual pay of the general and staff officers "borne upon the establishments of Her Majesty" in the Low Countries, and in Spain and Portugal. Two or three typical examples are given below:

Paid to his Grace y^e^ Duke of Marlborough for his pay as Commander in Chief of her May^ties^ Forces in y^e^ Low Countrys for 365 days ending the 23^d^ of decem^r^ 1706. at £10 p. diem . . 3,650 [1]

The Earl of Peterborough, commander-in-chief in Spain,[2] and the Earl of Galway, commander-in-chief in Portugal,[3] were paid at the same rate.

Paid to Brigad^r^ William Cadogan for his pay as Quarter Ma^r^ Gen^l^ . . . . . 182.10 [4]

Paid to Adam Cardonnel Esq^r^ for his Pay as Secretary to the Commander in Chief, at 10^s^ p diem . . . . . 182.10 [5]

Paid to Benjamin Sweet Esq^r^ for his pay as Deputy Paymaster to y^e^ said Forces at 12^s^ 6^d^ p Diem . . . . . 227.16.3 [6]

The accounts of payments to the regiments form the largest and most detailed section of the "Discharge." They give the total number of men borne upon the establishment, English and foreign, the rate per diem payable to each regiment, the date of the warrant authorizing the payment, and the sums paid to the agent for subsistence and clearings, and to the clothiers as off-reckonings for clothes and accouterments, for all the regiments listed in the charge. But the number of men carried on the establishment of a particular regiment is not given and would have to be sought in its establishment and muster rolls. In the case of English regiments serving in Flanders, the sums are entered as paid to agents for regiments; the sums for foreign troops in Her Majesty's pay are entered as paid to the commissary of those forces. From these accounts the relative cost of regiments of dragoons and infantry, and the relative sums expended by parliament on English and foreign troops, can be ascertained, with

[1] I, 126. [2] I, 305. [3] IV, 155. [4] I, 127. [5] I, 128. [6] I, 127.

the totals for regiments from year to year in Flanders; and these can be compared with the figures for Spain and Portugal. Some comparative data for the year 1707 are given below:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total payments to English regiments in Flanders, inclusive of additional regiments | £419,332[1] |
| Total payments to foreign regiments in Flanders, inclusive of additional regiments | £484,013[2] |
| Total payments to all regiments in Spain and Portugal | £450,502[3] |

The accounts of forage and wagon money are in a separate section and are given for general officers, and regiments of foot and dragoons, including horses lost and other extraordinary expenditures. For instance, the total disbursements on forage in Flanders for 1707 were:

| | |
|---|---|
| English troops, dragoons and infantry | £13,025[4] |
| Foreign troops | £27,278[5] |

The accounts of the expenditures on "Bread and Bread Waggons for the Forty Thousand Men in Flanders," paid to the contractors Sir Solomon de Medina and his predecessor Jacob Machado, for the years 1707 to 1711, are in these volumes. They are of interest because, in November, 1711, the commissioners of the public accounts sent the Duke of Marlborough the deposition of Sir Solomon de Medina that he had in this period paid to the Duke for his own use the sum of 332,000 guilders.[6] Cardonnel, the Duke's secretary, and Benjamin Sweet, deputy paymaster, were also implicated. This deposition was the basis of one of the charges against Marlborough that ended in his dismissal on December 31 of that year.

The expenditures on hospitals and medical services can be traced in the "Payments out of the Poundage" and "Contingencies." These expenses were relatively small. For example, it seems that the total under this head for the campaign in Flanders in 1706 (the year of the battle of Ramillies) was only about £13,000,[7] and the total number of men under Marlborough's command was about 60,000. For the year 1710 these expenses had increased to about £26,000.[8]

[1] II, 66, 76. [2] II, 73, 85. [3] IV, 56, 57, 66. [4] II, 97. [5] II, 105.
[6] Stanhope, *History of England* (London, 1872), II, 244.
[7] Stowe 8, I, 239–41. [8] *Ibid.*, III, 117–23.

The accounts of subsidies paid to foreign princes, and those of the sums paid to their commissaries for the foreign regiments in Her Majesty's service, provide interesting material, since in these early years of the eighteenth century a policy was adopted whereby Great Britain became the paymaster of Europe to maintain the balance of power. The entries of payments for subsidies give the name of the prince, the nature of the services rendered or the treaty according to which the arrangement was made, and the dates of the letters of privy seal under which the payments were made. The amount spent on subsidies was already large in 1706, the King of Portugal alone receiving £150,000 as one year's subsidy, "pursuant to the Treaty in that behalf dated y^e^ 16^th^ of May 1703."[1] The total payments for 1706, exclusive of Spain and Portugal, were £123,168;[2] for 1707, £145,026;[3] they reached their height in 1709 with a total of £962,658,[4] falling to £466,578 in 1710.[5]

There are various other separate items worthy of mention, like the accounts of the garrison at Gibraltar, the levy-money, some of the extraordinary payments, the sum voted for the expedition to Canada, transport, and ordnance. The levy-money accounts show the cost of raising regiments in this period; for example, in 1706, in the accounts for Spain and Portugal, we find the following entry:

> Paid to the Lord Lovelace in full for Levy money for raising a Regiment of ffoot under his Command to consist of 12 Companys 2 Serjeants 3 Corporals 2 Drummers & 50 private Soldiers Servants included in each at the rate of 3^l^ for each private Soldier Exclusive of Servants by Virtue of the same Warr^t^ . . . . . 1650[6]

In the extraordinary payments and contingencies there are minor items of some importance, such as:

> Paid to Lieu^t^ Coll^o^ Charles Dubourgay Quarter Mast^r^ Gen^l^ of the fforces in Portugal for his great diligence & Care in procuring Intiligence at his own Expence during y^e^ Winter Quarters, from the People of Estramadura & Cortella whereby he formed Maps[7] for the March of y^e^ Army from Portugal to Madrid by like Warrant dated the 8^th^ of May 1706 . . . . . 200[8]

[1] I, 297. [2] I, 230. [3] II, 115. [4] II, 418, 425. [5] III, 110. [6] I, 304.

[7] These maps were made for the march of Galway and Das Minas, who made a "triumphant entry into Madrid on June 27, 1706, and proclaimed Charles III." Leadam, *History of England* (London, 1921), p. 89. [8] I, 303.

The accounts of the payments made for the service of the expedition to Canada are given.[1] This was the expedition initiated in 1711 by Henry St. John, who intrusted the command to Major General Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham, the Queen's new favorite. After Robert Harley, now Earl of Oxford, had been displaced as lord treasurer by Viscount Bolingbroke (the former St. John), he said that "the public was cheated of above £20,000" by the expedition.[2] The expense of transport on the different fronts can also be traced; for instance, the total for the campaign of 1705 in Spain and Portugal, including shipping costs, was £24,000.[3] The cost of the ordnance can also be determined — it was £21,283 for 1708 in Spain.[4]

The abstract at the end of each section of the accounts gives the total sums received from the Treasury, and the total expended. Accordingly, the total expenses for each year in Flanders and in the Peninsula, under all heads, can be compared. Thus, the expenditures in the Low Countries, for both British and foreign troops and subsidies, amounted to £1,366,076 in 1706.[5] For that year, in Spain and Portugal, they were £1,093,071.[6] The relatively heavy expense of the Peninsular campaign was due to the large subsidies paid to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, the distance from England, and the high cost of forage and subsistence. The accounts for Spain and Portugal include the expenses of Earl Rivers' expedition, which Marlborough wished to land in France at the mouth of the Charente to aid the Huguenot revolt in the Cevennes, but which, diverted to the Mediterranean, landed at Lisbon, at the end of October, 1706, to reinforce Galway's army in the Peninsula.[7]

The maintenance of an army as large as Marlborough's over a period of more than ten years, the pay of officers and men, and the provision of bread, clothing, equipment, and forage, involved no mean administrative problem. The responsibility of organizing the payments for these services rested upon the paymaster in London, who had to provide for the maintenance of forces as far apart as Lisbon and Brussels. No account has yet appeared of how this responsibility was discharged during the War of the Spanish Succession. There is

[1] V, 187–89. [2] Leadam, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–83. [3] I, 370.
[4] IV, 195. [5] I, 244. [6] I, 373.
[7] W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1847), I, 474.

considerable material in the Stowe MSS for a study of certain aspects of this administrative problem. The paymaster's accounts show how much money was granted by parliament, and for what periods, and what sums were spent on the various fighting services, general officers, infantry, cavalry, ordnance, and on administrative services such as hospitals, forage, transport, etc. The question of what system there was for making these payments abroad, and how far it was developed, is another matter. It was left largely to the discretion and ability of the paymaster himself, and a great deal depended on him and his choice of deputies overseas and on the quartermaster-general with the forces. About two-thirds of the letters in Stowe MSS 57 and 58 are concerned with arrangements for the pay of the army. Those to Benjamin Sweet and Henry Cartwright, deputy paymasters in Amsterdam and Antwerp, John Drummond, agent in Amsterdam, Charles Medlycote and Thomas Morrice, deputies in Lisbon, Cadogan, quartermaster to Marlborough, and Adam Cardonnel, his secretary, and their replies, are the most important in this respect. They show how matters of principle and of detail were worked out, how the deputies received remittances or were enabled to draw on the paymaster through bills of exchange managed by the agents, how the money finally reached the regimental paymasters and the commissaries of the foreign troops, and how constant was the supervision of the paymaster himself.

(3) The Letters.

Stowe MS 57 is a series of fifty-eight volumes (including an index volume), of which eight contain copies of letters by James Brydges, 1705–13. There is a great variety of correspondence, both private and official, beginning with a few early letters between 1693 and 1706. Stowe MS 58 has twelve volumes and an index volume, and contains copies of the letters Brydges received, mainly during the years 1705–12. A list of some of the principal correspondents, with the approximate number of letters, and their dates, is given below:

| | Period covered | Letters from Brydges | Letters to Brydges |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dr. John Arbuthnot | 1712 | | 1 |
| Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke | 1706–12 | 13 | 28 |
| Edward Brydges | | | 1 |
| Francis Brydges, brother | | 3 | 4 |

| | Period covered | Letters from Brydges | Letters to Brydges |
|---|---|---|---|
| George Brydges | | 5 | 10 |
| George Brydges, son of the last named | | | 1 |
| Henry Brydges, brother | | 2 | 10 |
| James Brydges | | | 1 |
| James Brydges, Lord Chandos, Brydges' father | 1694–1712 | 10 | 7 |
| John Brydges | | 1 | 1 |
| William Brydges, counsellor | | 1 | 8 |
| William Brydges, cousin | | 6 | 3 |
| William Cadogan, Marlborough's quartermaster-general | 1706–10 | 45 | 38 |
| Adam Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary | 1706–12 | 82 | 110 |
| Henry Cartwright, deputy paymaster at Antwerp | 1706–12 | 63 | 55 |
| The Lady Anna Chandos, sister | | 2 | |
| Charles III of Spain | 1707–10 | 3 | |
| Thomas, Lord Coningsby | 1708–10 | 5 | 7 |
| John, Lord Cutts, in command in Holland, winter of 1702–03 | 1701–03 | | 4 |
| Sir David Dalrymple | 1709–12 | 4 | 6 |
| Dr. Charles D'Avenant, economist | 1704–12 | | 22 |
| John Drummond, agent at Amsterdam | 1705–12 | 156 | 238 |
| John Drummond and Van der Heiden & Drummond | | | 17 |
| Henri, Lord Galway, commander-in-chief in Spain | 1707–12 | 14 | 14 |
| Sidney, Lord Godolphin, lord treasurer | 1703–12 | 28 | 1 |
| Brigadier S. De Lalo, in the Low Countries | 1707–08 | 5 | 11 |
| Reinier Leers, Dutch bibliophile | 1705–12 | 11 | 11 |
| Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz | 1694–95 | 2 | |
| Lt. Gen. Henry Lumley | 1709–11 | 3 | |
| John, Duke of Marlborough | 1701–12 | 32 | 24 |
| Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough | 1703–11 | 6 | 5 |
| Mrs. Abigail Masham | 1710–12 | 4 | 2 |
| Charles Medlycote, deputy paymaster at Lisbon | 1708–12 | 47 | 73 |
| Marquis de Montandre, with the Allied Army in Spain | 1707–09 | 8 | 13 |
| Thomas Morrice, deputy at Lisbon | 1707–12 | 43 | 58 |
| Lord George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, in the Low Countries | 1707–12 | 4 | 4 |
| James, Duke of Ormond, Marlborough's successor | 1712 | 3 | 2 |
| Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford | 1700–12 | 10 | 6 |
| The Elector Palatine | 1707–11 | 8 | 3 |
| Sir David Colyear, Lord Portmore, with the army in Spain | 1710–12 | 8 | 8 |

| | Period covered | Letters from Brydges | Letters to Brydges |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abraham Romswinckle, agent in Amsterdam. . | 1706–12 | 51 | 62 |
| Romswinckle & Warin . . . . . | 1712 | 3 | 3 |
| Admiral Sir George Rooke . . . . . | 1701–03 | | 5 |
| James Senserf & Son, agents in Rotterdam . . | 1706–12 | 67 | 93 |
| Walter Senserf . . . . . | 1710–12 | 3 | 4 |
| Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovel . . . . . | 1703 | | 1 |
| James, Earl Stanhope, with the Allied Army in Catalonia . . . . . | 1707–12 | 9 | |
| Benjamin Sweet, deputy paymaster in Amsterdam . . . . . | 1706–12 | 207 | 134 |
| Sir Charles Hara, Lord Tyrhawley, with the Allied Army in Catalonia . . . . . | 1706–07 | 3 | 1 |
| Brigadier George Wade, in Catalonia . . . . . | 1708–10 | 11 | 9 |
| Robert Walpole . . . . . | 1708–12 | 6 | 7 |
| Dr. William Wotton . . . . . | 1708–12 | 6 | 23 |

This list is representative of the different kinds of correspondence in the collection, but is by no means complete. About one-half of the letters, in some volumes two-thirds, are to deputy paymasters and agents. Except for the details of the payment of the army abroad, these letters, as a rule, do not provide material of value. The accounts in them are often difficult to distinguish from those relating to the private ventures of Brydges. Besides the mass of correspondence dealing with army pay, there are many letters of interest and value. The family letters of Brydges and those about his private affairs give a picture of the relation between the heir to a title and a considerable estate and his parents. There is an increasing number of letters to estate agents, about tenants, rents, and related matters that concern the building up and maintenance of a great property. Such letters might be segregated into a category by themselves. But, on the whole, it is hardly possible rigidly to classify the correspondence. Much of that with Marlborough, Galway, the commander-in-chief in Spain, and other generals, concerns matters of administration; but the glimpses of personalities and details of campaigns, which they supply, are often more interesting. The letters to agents and deputies give information of the state of politics at home, and those from them often include accounts of the progress of the war and of foreign affairs. In addition, some of the letters, with their replies, form series in them-

selves, of which examples are given in the accounts that follow of the Marlborough, Cardonnel, Cadogan, Drummond, and D'Avenant correspondence.

The correspondence with Marlborough constitutes a series, running from August, 1701 to 1714, thus covering the whole period of the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1701 Brydges was a member of the House of Commons, but had not yet obtained any public post. His friendship with Marlborough induced that nobleman to urge his friend's interest upon King William, though without effect. Subsequent letters show that, through Marlborough's influence, he obtained a position as a member of the lord high admiral's council in the first year of Anne's reign. There are letters from the Duchess, as well as the Duke, about this appointment. At this time (1702) the Queen had named her husband, Prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral, and the Tory ministry under Godolphin provided him "with an efficient Council which comprised Sir George Rooke and other seamen of mark." [1] This council was important because it carried out the policy of Marlborough in the Mediterranean; and Brydges was one of the friends of Marlborough who seem to have helped. He was a member of the council from March 29, 1703, to February 8, 1704. "The Tories wished England to wage war as a mere auxiliary on land, but as a principal at sea; while the Whigs wished her to take the lead on both elements." [2] Marlborough saw that a British fleet in the Mediterranean would make England's influence felt in the capitals of Europe. A plan was adopted by which a large fleet, under Sir George Rooke, cruised in the Channel and another in the Bay of Biscay, in May and June, 1703. This policy resulted in the capture of Gibraltar in 1704. There are five letters from Admiral Sir George Rooke and one from Sir Clowdisley Shovel that concern the council.

The early letters from Marlborough himself have an interest quite apart from the appointment of his friend Brydges to the council, because they give some interesting details of the early stages of the War of the Spanish Succession. Marlborough wrote in October, 1702, of

[1] Stanhope, *History of England comprising the Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1872), I, 52.

[2] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1908), pp. 481–82.

his successful siege of Venlo, which made the English masters of the River Meuse as far as Maastricht and led to the fall of Liège — a campaign that established his European reputation. His letters are short and concise, telling of his accomplishments in Flanders and of his plans. There are no letters from him in 1704, the year of Blenheim, but Brydges wrote to congratulate him on so significant a victory. Their relations became closer when Brydges was appointed Paymaster-General of the Forces Abroad (an office he owed to Marlborough and Godolphin) and he entered upon his duties on June 24, 1705. In July Marlborough wrote from his camp near Louvain, where he was forcing the line of the Franco-Bavarian army on the River Dyle, to congratulate Brydges on his appointment, on his re-election as member of parliament for Hereford, and on the success with which he was carrying out his duties. He wrote again, in August, to tell him that his operations had ended victoriously. There is a gap in the letters from Marlborough in 1706, the year of Ramillies, but after that, down to 1713, there are, on an average, about three letters a year from him, and about four from Brydges. In May, 1707, Marlborough wrote from Brussels, to which he had returned from his famous and successful visit to Charles XII of Sweden at Alt-Ranstadt: "I hope it has entirely defeated the Expectacoñs the Fr: Court had from the King of Sweeden." From the camp at Werwick, on July 30, 1708, he acknowledged Brydges' congratulations on the victory of Oudenarde and told him of his efforts to follow it up. The first sign, in the correspondence, of the trouble which ended in Marlborough's dismissal in December, 1711, is found when Marlborough, writing from Douai, May 21, 1710, of the successful opening of the campaign, said: "I hope ye effects of it will be Such, that we Shall at last enjoy happiness & quiet at home, whatever arts & endeavors ill men may use to prevent it & while ye publick has any advantage of my Service here, I shall not be over Sollicitous about ye construction Such men may put upon my actions." Again, in July, he wrote: "We sh$^{d}$ be very happy if they [our successes here] could contribute towards quieting of ye ferment at home, w$^{ch}$ otherwise may unravel whatever it is possible for us to do on this Side." By this time, Brydges began to anticipate trouble and thought of resigning, but was advised by Marlborough, the Duchess, and Godolphin not to seek the post of Mr. Howe, Paymaster-General to

the Forces at Home. In June, 1711, Brydges wrote at considerable length to warn Marlborough. He said: "When Y. G. left England I was in hopes matters were Settled, that you w^d have nothing to do, but to pursue y^r accustom'd manner of taking Towns & gaining Victories, but Envy, w^ch never fails to make war with Superior worth & vertue, is, I fear, putting all her engines in motion." Marlborough replied: "We must continue to do our dutys, & so long I think neither malice nor envy can do us much harm," but asked his friend to continue to keep him informed. About the middle of July, 1711, Matthew Prior, the poet and diplomatist, was secretly dispatched to Paris by the Tory ministry with the heads of negotiations. On August 23 Brydges wrote to tell Marlborough that there was a strong report of such secret peace negotiations, and that Prior had been arrested on returning from Paris but had passports showing that he had been sent by the authority of the secretary of state. The determination of the ministry to secure peace necessitated Marlborough's dismissal, and the charge brought against him, in December, that he had misappropriated 2½ per cent of the pay for the foreign troops, was the technical excuse given. In this matter the paymaster was very much concerned. In May, 1711, he had written to inquire about Marlborough's wishes concerning the payment of this percentage, as he was in doubt. Through his secretary the Duke made it clear to Brydges that any questions would be answered by reference to the Queen's warrant for the payment of this percentage to him for the secret service and intelligence. But so little did Marlborough seem to realize how his enemies would ruin him, that he requested Brydges to do all he could to help Sir Solomon de Medina, when the latter came to London. It was Sir Solomon, the army head-contractor, who then brought charges against Marlborough. On September 14 Brydges congratulated Marlborough on the taking of Bouchain, which proved to be his last victory. A fortnight later he reported the signing of the preliminaries of peace with the French. Marlborough was recalled, and on December 31 was dismissed by the Queen, pending investigation of the charges of peculation against him. On January 10, 1712 (O. S.), Brydges wrote to Marlborough to dissuade him from asking for a vote of justification in parliament, as St. John feared this would appear to be an attack on the ministry. He enclosed a letter from Benjamin Sweet, his deputy paymaster in Am-

sterdam, in which the deputy claimed that he had never known of the Queen's warrant, but had issued the 2½ per cent to the Duke, taking it to be a free gift of the troops. The last letter from Marlborough was dated February, 1712, asking Brydges to call at his house. The friendship between the two does not seem to have been broken by Marlborough's dismissal and exile, for in July, 1713, Brydges wrote at length, as formerly, to acquaint Marlborough with the state of affairs in London and changing public opinion, advising him to return if asked to do so.

The value of these letters lies in the intimate connection between the fortunes of the Duke of Marlborough and his paymaster and the light they throw on the character of each. If taken in conjunction with the series to Godolphin, the lord treasurer, to Cardonnel, the Duke's secretary, and to Benjamin Sweet, the deputy paymaster in Amsterdam, they provide valuable material for the study of the administrative side of the campaign from 1702 to 1712.

The series of letters between Brydges and Adam Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, begins in 1706 and ends in 1712, thus covering the most important years of Marlborough's campaigns, except Blenheim. There are about 85 letters to Cardonnel and 110 from him. The greater part of them deals with matters of administration. For example, Brydges, soon after he entered office in June, 1705, found it necessary to make new arrangements for the payment of the troops. Accordingly, his first letters deal with the question of the subsidies to foreign troops in Her Majesty's pay and "the fixing of the payments to the army upon such a foot that, let y^e^ Exchange vary what it will, or y^e^ army be further removed from the Towns . . . , yet they should be allwaies supply'd after a rate they themselves shall allow to be reasonable and fair. . . ." Marlborough had ordered that the troops should be paid in the currency of the country where they were on service. As there were British troops in the Low Countries, France, and Spain, the problem was not easy. The subsidies often caused anxiety; the difficulty of managing allied troops who were not paid promptly was one among many which Marlborough had to face; and the early correspondence between his secretary and Brydges is much occupied with such matters. For example, Cardonnel was eager

that the subsidy to the Hessian troops should be paid, but Brydges replied that the lord treasurer would not authorize the payment until parliament met and ratified the treaty by which these troops were to be under the command of Marlborough and in the pay of the Queen. In 1707 subsidies totaling about £182,530 were paid to the Elector of Treves, the King of Prussia, the King of Denmark, the Elector Palatine, and the Prince of Hesse.[1] When the various agents for these princes encountered any difficulties, they often communicated with the Duke of Marlborough, hence his secretary is found urging the paymaster to attend to them.

Although the great bulk of the correspondence deals with the arrangements for the troops' pay, foreign subsidies, and the exchange, many of Cardonnel's letters contain news of the campaigns and, from time to time, information of Marlborough's intentions. When Brydges wrote to Cardonnel, for example, to offer his congratulations on the victory of Oudenarde in July, 1708, the secretary, in replying, told how the victory was being improved by the occupation of Picardy and how the siege train was being brought up for the attack on Lille. Later he wrote of the fall of Brussels and of Ghent; and, in April, 1709, for the first time in the correspondence, there is a hint that peace might follow the negotiations in progress at The Hague. News from Brydges was concerned with affairs at home. In June, 1708, he wrote of his re-election for Hereford, and told how Marlborough and Godolphin, determined that he should not be out of parliament, had arranged to have "brought" him "in at Truro" if opposition in Hereford had been too strong. Again, he informed Cardonnel, as well as Marlborough, of the death of George, Prince of Denmark, the Queen's Consort, on October 28, 1708, at the same time as he congratulated them on the fall of Lille. From April to June, 1709, Cardonnel's letters from The Hague are full of confidential information concerning the peace preliminaries which were being discussed there; Louis XIV had sent his foreign minister, de Torcy, to confer with Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Grand Pensionary, Heinsius. The preliminaries being interrupted in June, the investment of Tournai was undertaken, and Cardonnel's reports continue from the camp with news of the siege until the fall of the town, on July 28, 1709, and of the citadel

[1] Stowe 8, II, 19.

on September 3 (N. S.). His letters show that, about this time, he became convinced that, while the Allies had been victorious in France, they could not secure possession of Spain for the Austrian (i.e., the allied) claimant — a conclusion the ministry in London did not reach until after the disastrous campaign of 1710 in the Peninsula. The campaign for 1709 in the Low Countries closed with the fall of Mons on October 21; from that place Cardonnel wrote several letters, giving various details, as of Cadogan's wound and of the capitulation.

The correspondence for 1710 deals mainly with administrative matters again, but there are passages in Cardonnel's letters containing news of the peace negotiations at Gertruydenberg and of the siege of Douai. Prospects of peace were of particular interest to Brydges because of his private speculations. As early as May, 1710, he began to see signs of the coming storm which ended in charges of peculation against both Marlborough and Cardonnel, for in writing of the dismissal of Sunderland, the secretary of state (southern department), he told Cardonnel that he hoped for success at Douai, "for I fear matters are gone so far here, that nothing but a great deal of that can retrieve them." A few days later he warned Godolphin and Marlborough that he thought of resigning his office, but they dissuaded him. Godolphin was himself dismissed in August and Brydges wrote to Cardonnel about "this melancholy subject." The new lord treasurer was Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford. On September 22, 1710, Brydges told of the dissolution of parliament, the "surrender" of the various ministers, and the appointment of Henry St. John as secretary of state. In January, 1711, Cardonnel wrote that he had arranged a conference between Marlborough, Brydges, and Harley in London.

The letters of both correspondents for the year 1711 mainly deal with army administration, the most important being a few about the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent which Marlborough took from the payments to the foreign troops; and there are references to the examination of the army accounts on which the House of Commons demanded a report in September, 1711. Cardonnel's letters refer to the unpleasantness of dealing with Sir Solomon de Medina (the contractor for bread supplies to the army, who accused him of accepting a gratuity on the sealing of each contract). The commissioners of accounts demanded an account of all deductions, and, when Brydges first wrote to inquire

about the 2½ per cent, Cardonnel replied, on June 8, 1711, that "His Grace is of Opinion no mystery sh^d be made of y^e matter & that if there be any enquiry of y^e Stoppages on this Side, you acquaint them with y^e Queen's Warrant for y^e Deduction of 2½ p c^t from y^e foreign troops, w^ch is employ'd for Intelligence & other Secret Service of y^e Army." It is clear from this part of the correspondence that Marlborough's conduct was open and honest and that neither he nor Brydges realized at this date that it was the intention of the Duke's enemies to have him dismissed on this charge. Brydges replied that he had received no account of these deductions from his deputy, Benjamin Sweet, and had seen no warrant. In reply to this a copy of the warrant was sent on July 17, with instructions from Marlborough to leave the matter in the paymaster's hands.

Some of the last letters from Cardonnel in 1711 described confidentially the bad state of discipline in the army and the war-weariness. Brydges wrote that he thought of concentrating the work of his two deputies, Sweet and Cartwright, in the hands of the latter alone, to avoid confusion. Having done this, he reported that Harley had sent for him and complained of these alterations, though the Duke was satisfied. It is unfortunate that, at this critical stage of Marlborough's affairs, some of Brydges' letters to Cardonnel, to which the secretary himself refers, are missing. It had now become clear to Brydges that Marlborough's enemies were preparing trouble and, accordingly, he wrote to warn both the Duke and Cardonnel. In August and September, the latter sent several letters about the siege of Bouchain, and on its fall, September 14, 1711, he wrote: "if consider'd with all its circumstances it must be allow'd to be one of the greatest actions of y^e age." The last letters exchanged between the correspondents before Cardonnel came home with Marlborough were in October, 1711, and were about administration. Harley had required from Cardonnel a report on the claims of Sir Solomon de Medina. On the way to England, Cardonnel wrote from near Brill in Holland, where he was becalmed, sending a letter with an enclosure from Marlborough to the lord treasurer, "to desire his favourable construction that it may be laid before the house in the best manner." Unfortunately, there is no copy of the letter or enclosure in the Stowe MSS.

This series of letters is among the most valuable and interesting

in the Chandos manuscripts. The main interest, which runs throughout the correspondence, concerns the fortunes of the paymaster-general and Marlborough, which were so closely linked with those of Cardonnel. There is a great deal of detailed information about the payment of troops, the foreign subsidies, and the army contracts. Light is thrown, particularly at the end of the correspondence, on the charges which were brought against Marlborough and Cardonnel; and this material should be compared with that in the series of letters to the two deputy paymasters, Sweet and Cartwright, together with the paymaster-general's accounts in Stowe MS 8. The details of the campaigns and references to the prospects of peace occupy much less space, but are of considerable importance. To a less degree, the information given by Brydges about the political situation at home, the ministerial crisis, and the change of ministry in 1710, is also of value.

The correspondence between Brydges and General William Cadogan, quartermaster-general to Marlborough, runs from 1706 to 1710. The letters from Brydges are mostly concerned with remittances to the forces in the Low Countries, but he relied on Cadogan for information about the fortunes of the campaigns, with a view to regulating his private speculations, and, throughout, the two exchange information about their investments. There are about forty letters from Cadogan, which form the more interesting part of the correspondence, as he was with Marlborough in the Low Countries and includes in his letters news of the progress of affairs there, as well as much administrative detail. He also acquainted Brydges with the intelligence from other fronts which he received at headquarters. In September, 1706, he wrote of Prince Eugene's victory over the French before Turin and of the conclusion of that year's campaign in Flanders. His letter from The Hague, in November of the same year, is characteristic of the friendship between him and the paymaster and of their close coöperation in paying the troops. To forestall any complaints, Cadogan secured and sent to Brydges a paper signed by the general officers then at the camp, justifying the paymaster-general's procedure in relation to payments. At that time he wrote: "Hoping to have the Honour of seeing You very soon I shall say nothing more of the payments in this Letter, but that Wee have had the Scandal

without the joy hitherto and that I believe it might be order'd wee shou'd have the Joy without the Scandal." He gave news of the Duke, of the meeting of the States General, and of their intention to carry on the war a year longer. This letter is typical of several from Cadogan which shed some light on his character as well as give information about the payments to the troops and report news from headquarters. Brydges, in turn, wrote in April to tell the quartermaster of a quarrel between Lord Wharton and Marlborough at Godolphin's house, of what was going on in parliament, and of the passage of the Act of Union with Scotland in March, 1707. There are several letters from Cadogan about the sieges of Mons and Charleroi in 1707, but his dispatches usually refer to the method of making remittances to the regiments and the most advantageous way of buying gold with which to make the payments. In July, 1708, he wrote of the victory of Oudenarde and, at some length, of the preparations for the siege of Lille, and also told of the disposition of the armies. He sent confidential information of the nature of the peace proposals in 1709, and, in the light of this and other intelligence, continued with Brydges' coöperation to manage the exchange and the payment of monies to troops through Henry Cartwright, in Antwerp, so that there was sometimes a small advantage for Brydges and himself. This is clear, for example, from his letter dated Brussels, December 19, 1709.

This correspondence has some interest on account of the information Cadogan sent of the progress of the campaign, and the reports from Brydges of affairs in London, but is chiefly important because it illustrates army administration — the method of payments, questions of exchange, the cost of forage. It should be used in connection with the letters to Henry Cartwright and Benjamin Sweet, deputies in Antwerp and Amsterdam, respectively, and the actual accounts of the paymaster-general (Stowe MS 8).

The letters (about 250) from John Drummond, principal of the firm of Van der Heiden & Drummond, Amsterdam, and agent for Brydges in that city, begin in October, 1705; those (160) by Brydges to Drummond date from November, 1706; and both conclude in April, 1712. These letters form the largest series in Brydges' correspondence. The paymaster-general intrusted confidential matters to

Drummond and wrote to him, on an average, every ten days, about bills of exchange, for information of affairs abroad, and for advice as to his private affairs (e.g., investments in East India stock); he was also supplied by Drummond with rare wines and with pictures for the large collection he was making. The greater part of the correspondence deals with bills of exchange, and occasionally with specie which Drummond bought up on Brydges' behalf for Sweet, and with the commissaries and solicitors for foreign troops. Some of this business was secret, and its revelation helps to lay bare the paymaster's own speculations and the shrewdness he showed in building up a private fortune. To the student of the financial administration of the war, the letters are of particular importance: otherwise, only the news sent from London would interest the political historian. But some of the long communications from Drummond are of value, both from a historical and a literary point of view. He was a voluminous correspondent, well informed on a wide range of subjects and from many quarters, and he seldom hesitated to write what he knew. In one of the shorter letters, for example, he told in November, 1705, of the joy in The Hague at the intention of the English parliament to continue the war; and referred to his account with the deputy paymaster in Amsterdam; to paintings for Brydges' collection (the Titian, Rubens, and Poussin of earlier letters), some of which he had put on shipboard; to the meeting of the Estates General; to the news of the fall of Barcelona on November 13, and Lord Galway's wound at the siege; and to the King of Prussia. There was hardly an event of importance or news from any corner of Europe on which he had not something to say; and he wrote well, with a sense of humor. In May, 1707, for instance, he sent several letters on the economic aspects of the Union with Scotland, and reflected that "Even Scots Men will be at the Mercy of Custom house Officers." His letters derive particular value from his knowledge of the attitude of the Dutch (he was a friend of Pensionary Buys), of the financial situation in Holland, and of its effect on the prospects of the Allies, to whom the Dutch Alliance was of importance. They also contain frequent references to the war in Spain and the part played by the French there. In addition, they are a source of miscellaneous information on tariffs, peace negotiations, the move-

ments of French, Dutch, and English ships, and the operations of the armies in the Low Countries and Spain.

The letters (about 20) from Dr. Charles D'Avenant, though formal, chronicle an intimate friendship, which began about 1696 and lasted till his death in November, 1714. He was the son of Sir William D'Avenant, the poet, and was himself a political economist, a student of history and jurisprudence, and author of essays on the East India trade (1699) and the balance of power (1701). The circumstances under which the letters were written partly determine their quality. For fourteen years after the Revolution of 1688, D'Avenant, who had been commissioner of excise (1678–89), was denied this employment, and, in order to maintain himself and his large family, incurred debts amounting to £2,400. The letters that he wrote to his friend Brydges, and, through him, to Godolphin and Marlborough, seeking a grant of £1,500 from the Queen's bounty as some recognition of his services and to keep himself out of jail, read like pages from one of Fielding's novels. His wide historical knowledge comes out well in the letter of August 31, 1706, to Marlborough, on the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies; he shows remarkable appreciation of their effect on the balance of power, and expresses his fear lest animosities at home should interrupt the Duke's future happiness and safety. On April 19, 1708, he wrote to Brydges asking his intercession with Godolphin: "The Term begins the 23$^{d}$ inst$^{e}$ & in a few days, to save harmless the Gentlemen who are my Baile in the Actions already com*m*enc'd, Justice and Hon$^{r}$ will Compell me to Surrender myself to Prison, from w$^{ch}$ Gulfe I Fear there will be no redempcion. There I shall Languish neglected by all and forgotten by my Lord Trea*surer* upon whom tis more than Probable my Enemies may Prevail to dispose of my Employm$^{t}$." (D'Avenant was at this time inspector-general of imports and exports.) This letter, like others, is noteworthy for its dignified and charming literary style, and also reveals experience of political life. D'Avenant served as secretary to the commissioners for the Union with Scotland, and there is a long communication, dated London, August 27, 1708, to the Princess Sophia, on the benefits of the Union and its constitutional and economic aspects, and on party

politics. Not long before he died, and while still retaining the post of inspector of imports, he wrote, in humorous style, on the birth of a famous pup under the proper astrological auspices.

Some of D'Avenant's letters, by virtue both of their historical and their literary qualities, would grace any eighteenth-century collection.

In addition to the letters of Marlborough, Cadogan and Cardonnel on the war in Flanders, there are some from Lord Cutts, between 1701 and 1703, Brigadier S. De Lalo, who wrote in detail of the siege of Lille in 1708 and of other sieges, and Lord Orkney. From Spain and Portugal there is often military news in the dispatches of Morrice and Medlycote, deputies at Lisbon; and those of Galway, in Portugal, Stanhope and George Wade, in Catalonia, the Marquis de Montandre and Lord Portmore, in Spain, are all of some value in this respect.

Brydges' letters to the lord treasurer are those of an ambitious public servant to his chief and patron. Some of them are of interest for the study of the politics of Anne's reign, and, like those to Marlborough, are friendly and confidential. Of the six from Robert Harley, between 1700 and 1711, only one deals with politics, the rest being personal notes about social affairs. Brydges was concerned to keep the friendship of Harley, especially after he had become Earl of Oxford and lord treasurer and the question of the accounts had been raised in the Commons. In 1711, when Harley brought forward his plan to fund the national debt, by incorporating the South Sea Company, Brydges offered his services as a director. When, in February, 1712, his deputy at Amsterdam, Sweet, was accused, with Cardonnel and Marlborough, of accepting a share of the commission on the bread contracts for the army, Brydges seems to have arranged with Oxford to dismiss the deputy, who never appeared to give any evidence. The correspondence with Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, is of more general interest. It includes the periods 1706 to 1708, when St. John was secretary at war, and 1710 to 1712, when he was secretary of state, but was most frequent in 1709. The majority of his letters were written from his wife's country house at Bucklebury and are very friendly, ranging leisurely over a number of topics, from tenants, ale, and tobacco, to a plan for supplying English manufactures

to the troops abroad, and a statement that "A Fallacious Peace can never be safe, a safe one can never be more necessary." Of Marlborough he wrote, on June 26, 1709, "I doe verely beleive he is borne to fin[?d] y^e^ Liberty of Europe." The heavy losses at Malplaquet he attributed to the strength of the French position. The letters from Robert Walpole, from 1708 to 1710, were written when he was secretary at war and refer to army administration.

Correspondence of quite another kind can be found in this collection. There are the letters to Lord Coningsby, a rival landowner in Herefordshire, with whom Brydges' father had fought a duel, and his replies, about politics and country affairs. Such a bibliophile as Reinier Leers, of Rotterdam and The Hague, wrote, with much discernment, of books, pictures, and the effects on British trade of leaving Spain to the Bourbons. Dr. William Wotton deals with ecclesiastical affairs and the constitution. Brydges finds time when on the Continent to buy a ring, with a history, which he presents to the Duchess of Marlborough, having put her husband's picture in it. Later on, he commends himself to Lady Masham, her successor as the Queen's favorite.

Although this voluminous correspondence contains few letters of great interest individually, in the aggregate it makes a valuable contribution to the sources available for the study of the War of the Spanish Succession. It is mainly concerned with the details of military history, yet its innumerable side lights on politics and society help to illuminate the reign of Queen Anne.

# Coleridge Marginalia in Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*

EDITED BY EDWIN BERCK DIKE[1]

THE Huntington Library possesses four editions of an old novel, Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, that, for all its "pleasing passions of sobs and tears" — or, perhaps, actually because of them — was once widely admired; indeed, the author's name is still known in certain circles, and the charming story is sometimes read today. Two of these four copies once belonged to famous men: one to Philip Freneau and the other to Samuel Taylor Coleridge. It is interesting and significant to note how Freneau read his book and put but one brief, detached, journalistic remark in it, whereas S. T. C. freighted his four little literary frigates with precious cargo. Freneau's way was — and is — the world's; S. T. C.'s way was — alone — S. T. C.'s.

Coleridge procured his copy of the novel (4 vols.; new ed. of 1776 [London: printed for Edward Johnston]) sometime in the course of his last eighteen years with the Gillmans. A sheet of paper, pasted on the front flyleaf, bears the inscription, "H. E Savage Library Highgate." Coleridge fairly incumbered the work with a variety of notes whose kindly criticism and versatile charm, whose social interest and spiritual insight, suggest that the poet probably possessed few books he liked so well. Out of three or four hundred books in his library, we have access to the marginalia of possibly not more than one-seventh. It was entirely natural that a few writers, but only a few, like Sir Thomas Browne, should have been among his "first favorites." His love for Elizabethan literature is famous; though pencil- and ink-marks fade, the sixty-odd volumes of his now in the British Museum will al-

[1] I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance, at the Huntington Library, of Mr. Robert O. Schad and Mr. Godfrey Davies, and especially of Captain R. B. Haselden and Mr. Herbert C. Schulz, *infra*.

This transcription, with the introductory note, is really the result of an accidental find, since, at the time of discovery of the Coleridge marginalia, I was intent upon a study of obsolete words.

ways bear a kind of testimony to his philosophic and religious thought; and we should, I think, be especially grateful for the delights in his copies of Blanco, Daniel, Dyer, Fuller, Dr. Parr, and Pepys, and for the matchless fancy of certain notes in Grew and Jurien, while the beautiful prayerfulness of those closing years is given concrete form in books that Coleridge owned or borrowed, by Dubois, Grew, and Irving, as well as *The Church of England Homilies* and *The Fool of Quality*.[1]

Today, *cum privilegio*, you may see and handle Coleridge's copy of Brooke at the Huntington Library. The volumes, in their comfortable red- and green-morocco slip cases, very possibly look like a Christmas present, and, though they have been rebacked, the bright, brown-calf covers are the original ones. The books have been through several sales since Coleridge knew them,[2] and they show use; but it is use that has been remarkably careful; and, if the few light-brown thumb stains are indeed all Coleridge's, then that much more glory is Brooke's. Coleridge's calligraphy is generally not only clear, especially where in ink, but characteristically neat and fine; but in places time and handling have so effaced penciled notes that it was difficult to read them with the unaided eye.[3]

*The Fool of Quality* begins with a "Dedication to the Public" that is delicately witty and fine literary art. Written by one who was, in his youth, a great builder of "castles in airy regions," for that exceptional reader who is willing to wade "through a world of weeds to get a little nosegay," it perhaps deserves to belong to a long line of "fool literature" and points, in an entertaining and gentle spirit, a timely moral — abstinence. The propensity of Henry Brooke for telling a tale is emphatically evident from the beginning; and the little stories

[1] Cf. W. F. Taylor's *Critical Annotations* (1889); and various transcriptions by J. D. Campbell, Helen Zimmern, and others, in *Notes and Queries*, *Blackwood's* (CXXXI, 107 ff.), etc. See bibliographies by J. L. Haney, R. H. Shepherd, and T. J. Wise.

[2] Sotheby's; three sales, between 1902 and 1908. Mr. Huntington acquired over fifty Coleridge items, including this copy of the 1776 edition of Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, at an auction sale, by the Anderson Galleries, New York, in 1918, of part of the library of Mark P. Robinson.

[3] Notably No. 8, "the wise adage of old Hesiod . . . ," but also obscure places in Nos. 1, 10, 11, 14, 18, and 23. Mr. Schulz most courteously read back to me, from Coleridge's set, all the MS notes, and I owe to him the detection of numerous errors and omissions in my own transcriptions.

with beggars and princes in them, and philosophers hanging out nets to catch clouds, are adroitly simple and told with copious charm. Very duly the question is asked if True Wisdom exists; and the interlocutor is told, "it lies a great way on . . . toward the end of my book."

The novel is, briefly, the story of two brothers, Richard and Henry, raised apart. Upon Harry, the younger, and the hero, the sun, in the nature of things, chiefly shines; and it is arranged that our hearts throughout shall be mainly, though not exclusively, with him. When in boyhood Harry is, not quite naturally, neglected by his father the earl, his uncle, Harry Clinton, comes unbeknown and gains the child's lasting friendship. Before his "bearded dada" (the uncle) spirits the beloved boy away, in company with a penniless little one, Ned, there are some delightful scenes of little gentry coming from lurking holes to play leapfrog or wrestle half-naked. The Earl and his family search in vain for a trace of the boy whom they have learned to love. The protracted stories of Lord Stivers, Clement, and his Arabella, of Ned restored to the Fieldings, and especially of Mr. Clinton and his Matty, lend verisimilitude to the whole narrative. Young Harry grows up, handsome, rich, benevolent. His constant tutor is his "dada," and parables fall like manna. When Harry has mastered his political system, he dines with Lord Portland and goes thence to court; and there the virtues of a kind heart and upright mind win for him the appellation, "Fool." Harry enjoys the title; it is only his faith that still troubles him. Meanwhile, his dear brother, Richard, meets with romance — and death — in Paris. Harry, not without remorse all around, is restored to his true father; and, with a charmer from a far country, he learns at last, in a blaze of bright pageantry, about love and life.

Coleridge marked many passages of philosophic, religious, or aphoristic quality; but, excepting for one exclamation, "Good!",[1] all the marginalia appear below. The suggested omnium-gatherum of De Quincey and others may never be realized, but as a contribution towards it, here is treasure within treasure which rightfully belongs to those who love beauty in books.

[1] IV, 69, in the margin, opposite Brooke's "O seed of the woman! heal, heal the head thou hast crushed . . ."

## Volume I

1. Dedication, p. xiii. Faintly, in pencil, and showing that Coleridge had the whole Dedication in mind and was probably rereading his volumes, appear these comments by him:

An exquisite composition is this "Dedication" — To the genius of Swift it adds a moral geniality, a *richness* of Heart — But O! how deceitful is the [xiv t.] Heart in the best of us! Thro' the whole of this enchanting Day-dream Novel, [xiv b.] the imagination of, and the consequent Craving for, Wealth are fed, yea, *crammed* even to gluttony! The [xv t.] Heroes of the Story are all rich as Crœsus Mr Fenton a magnified Rothchild, [xv b.] all the Barings in *one* / only so very good, so very very afflicted! But what of all this — we offer an atoning smile of assent to [xvi t.] our disapproving Reason, then turn to the Book & "Love it all the better." *S. T. C.*

2. P. 43. Young Harry is pictured with his dogs, strolling "into a park whose gate he saw open. . . ." Coleridge underscored "whose" and wrote, in pencil, at the bottom:

— the gate of which Mem. "whose" is the *personal* Genitive, a valuable privilege of our language, which it is now almost a fashion to violate, thus giving to our [44 t.] prose the appearance of *flat* poetry. Miss S. *whose* name is Susan read this Book, the Name *of which* is the [*written narrowly down the margin*] *Fool of Q.* Now too many of our modern Scribes would have written "her Book *whose* name ["—] a vile affectation. S. T. C.

3. P. 46 (chap. ii). Brooke: "The language of true love is understood by all creatures, and was that of which Harry had, almost, the only perception." Coleridge, with an "x," emended, in pencil, to:

x *read* and was almost the only language of which Harry had a full perception.

4. Pp. 98–102. My lord and Mr. Meekly on corporate laws, avarice, &c. — a theme that Coleridge especially liked. A long passage, neatly written, in ink.

In the infancy of Commerce these chartered Bodies Corporate were not only useful but perhaps necessary. So only could [100 b.] the power of

Capital be called into action, & experience be rendered progressive. But in the adult age of Commerce [101 t.] these Monopolies are dead weights. The general Rule is against them — if in any case a chartered Monopoly is defensible, [101 b.] it must be defended as an *exception*. And the Defenders have the onus probendi, that it is an exception. See *blank Leaf*. [No. 12, *below*.]

5. P. 109. The Earl and Mr. Meekly still speaking: "Might he not have ordered matters so, as to have prevented the possibility of any degree of natural . . . evil in his universe?" — with Coleridge chiming in (in pencil), like a third interlocutor:

[*In margin*] No! x [*base*] Perfection belongs to God alone — Imperfection must therefore be found in his works — in other words — Evil —

6. P. 110. Brooke: "It were . . . indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished!" Coleridge comments:

This is contradictory to the sentiment in the last page —

7. P. 146 (end of chap. iv). Author-and-Friend passage. Coleridge (in pencil) finds fault with Brooke's passage, "Lycurgus without comparison . . ."

See page 98 & seq where the panegyric on commerce &c is totally inconsistent with these notions —

8. P. 172. Brooke: "Within a fortnight after this, Mr. James . . . furnished a large lumber-room with thousands of coats . . ." Coleridge underscored "thousands of" with a pencil, put a rugged ink-line through the words, and wrote, in pencil, below:

Brook was a man of true Genius; but it would have conduced in no trifling degree to the improvement of this work if he had borne in mind the wise adage of old Hesiod Ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός [173 t.] I.e. Half is not seldom more than the whole. Here, for instance, the words, "thousands of" might have advantageously [been?] omitted. — In Vol. IV. the more de la mode *presses*.

9. P. 180 (near the end of chap. v). Brooke: "Away flew Harry, like feathered Mercury, on his Godlike errand. Forth issued

Mr. James . . ." Having underlined "Godlike," Coleridge wrote, in ink, most typically:

This is Brooke's characteristic fault — a *too-muchness* — an over-heated hyperbolism in his phrases — Surely, "*Humane* or compassionate Errand" was [181 t.] the utmost that such a service required. [*In pencil:*] Such an expression would be very appropriate in a newspaper account of an incident like this, but does not meet the feeling with which [181 b.] Brooke wrote or wished that others should read — If it be Godlike to give life, it is Godlike to preserve — The intensity of the Benevolence gives it almost a divine character — The epithet is good —

10. Pp. 185–86 (chap. vi). Brooke: " . . . and *Nemo me impune lacessit*, was a maxim of whose impropriety not Saint Anthony, himself, could persuade him." Coleridge stabbed the text with his pen again, crossing out "whose," and writing "the"; he inserted a caret between "impropriety" and "not Saint Anthony," supplying "of which" in the margin.

In Brooke's text occurs: " . . . an ancient and elevated chair, whose form was . . ." Coleridge underlined "whose," put a cross (x) in the margin, and, at the foot of the page, wrote:

x This might, perhaps, have been justified, as a playful Personification of the Majestic Chair — but that the frequency of this vile confusion of the personal with the neuter Genetive, whose [186 t.] for "of which" deprives the Writer of his plea. It is a gross, tho' a spreading, Solecism that disfigures the style of some of our ablest [186 b.] Contemporaries — ex. gr. Scott, and Southey. The Ed. Review swarms with instances.

11. Pp. 208–209 (near end of chap. vi). Brooke on the terms *envy* and *emulation*. Coleridge marked the paragraph with a long line, in ink, and wrote at the bottom of p. 208:

There is doubtless a wide difference between Envy and Emulation — the the latter consisting in a desire to obtain equal excellence [209 t.] with another by exerting the same means, and without any wish to deprive the other of his excellence, and without any pain in the contemplation of it. [209 b.] Yet notwithstanding this, I remember that the noblest minds at our school needed no such stimulus — Sympathy performed it's office far better.

12. Last flyleaf but one; conclusion of No. 4 (above).

Conclusion of MSS. note p. 101.
Thus the Assailants of the E. India Company need only say —
Monopolies are in the rule Evils.
The E. India Company is a Monopoly — unless therefore you can shew, that it forms an exception to the Rule, the Conclusion is — Ergo, the E. India Company is an Evil.
It does not lie on us to shew the evils of the E. India Company — We may know of none [*word here scratched out*] but we are entitled a priori to conclude it to be such. — The Defender on the other hand is bound to demonstrate the particular *good* & that it is an overbalance to the general Evil — or the particular evils that would follow from the suppression of the Monopoly & that [*verso*] they are greater than the good that would follow from opening the trade, — or both, if he can.
My own opinion is that the streng[t]h of the East India House Cause rests mainly on the latter position — namely, the danger to the Constitution from the vast accession to the already enormous patronage of the Crown.

## Volume II

13. P. 28. Brooke: "To all these questions, Mr. Longfield barely smiled." Coleridge, clearly, in ink:

The effect of such delineations as this of the Judge is dangerous in the present state of the popular mind — but it must be remembered in H. Brooke's justi- [28 b.] -fication that Chief Justice Page & others gave too great occasion for such portraits, & were infamous for their abusive browbeating Language on the Bench — & for their shameless [29 t.] partiality where the Government or the Aristocracy was concerned. S. T. C —

14. P. 121. Brooke: "'My lord judge, the infinite complaints that come before me' . . . "; Coleridge, in pencil, at bottom (writing now very dim):

It is not often, that Brook makes any story worse by his way of telling it: this however is an exception. But in this he had a mighty rival — Rabelais. The original Relator/

15. P. 232 (chap. xiii): "The world, my lovely cousin . . . "; Coleridge, in pencil, at bottom:

Exquisite alike in thought and expression! And yet this work, worthy of being placed on the next Shelf to our Shakespear, Spenser, Milton is only know[n] and spoken of [as?] a Child's Book!

## Volume III

16. P. 3. Brooke: "A number of external successes, also, assisted to persuade us, in those days, that felicity was to be attained and ascertained upon earth. The regency of Cromwell was administered with the strictest justice at home, while . . . it became revered and formidable abroad . . . " Coleridge put an "x" opposite "The regency of Cromwell," and another at the bottom of the page, and exclaimed (all in ink):

Alas! and to what a Wretch did the bigotry & intolerant Spirit of the Presbyterians sacrifice their own & the Nation's *Power & Freedom!* [*underscored in pencil; then in pencil, crosswise in the margin:*] Very little Freedom Charles had left them to sacrifice & as to national power that was greater under Cromwell than under any of the favorite Stuart Family

17. P. 5. "For every kind of passion is unquestionably a kind of suffering." Coleridge marked this with a line, and wrote at the bottom:

A remark equally profound and beautiful. S. T. C.

18. Pp. 19–25. The tragic death of Matilda Golding, which moved Coleridge to make a long comment, in ink:

[19 t.] Now this tho' a very common, indeed only not a universal, opinion among strict Religionists, appears to me a gross and even a dangerous Error — and [19 b.] not only without any authority in Scr[i]pture, but in the face of Scripture. If (said our divine Redeemer) Ye love not your earthly Parents, when ye [20 t.] love your heavenly Father whom Ye have not seen. The true head and base, the foundation and the pinnacle of a right [20 b.] and truly evangelical Spirit is to love God in all things that are lovely, in order finally to love all Good things in God. [21 t.] I reverence the wise man, and in that wise man I revere the Father of Light, the Giver of all Wisdom

— I offer my affectionate [21 b.] services and sympathies to a suffering fellow-christian — and my Saviour, who dwelleth in all his Elect, assures me that he himself is included in the kindness shewn to my [22 t.] suffering Brothers: The divine attributes shining thro the Creations & Works of the [22 b.] Invisible Creator are called in Scripture his Names — And this is one & a most sublime Sense of the two first clauses of the Lords Prayer — Our Father, who [23 t.] art (for us in our present veil of flesh) in Heaven, who art where ever true Being is, but who [23 b.] especially *art*, where [1] Spirits made perfect have immediate vision of thy presence, and in this intuition have a Heaven, and [24 t.] beatitude past utterance! Hallowed be thy *Name* — every name of thine, every [24 b.] mark and symbol in which thy Wisdom and almighty Love shine thro' for our dim eyes; but above all, hallowed be that [25 t.] Name which thou above all thy Names hast glorified even with thy own essential Godhead, the Name, Jesus, the *Word* Coeternal &c [*in pencil:*] x No! x [25 b. (*still in pencil:*)] x When Jesus told us to say "Hallowed by thy name" did he mean his own? "Why callest thou *me* good?" was his modest & humble question —

19. P. 46 (near beginning of chap. xv). His "little old man John" near death, Mr. Clinton talks with him: "Blood, however, John, is a very terrible thing; are you not afraid to appear before the judgment seat of Christ? By no means, my dear master; I have long since laid the burden of my sins before him, for I had nothing *else to bring to him, nothing else to offer him*; and he has accepted them and me, and my conscience is at rest in him."

Coleridge thus underscored John's words and wrote, in pencil, at the bottom of the page:

x What a notion, that these should be an acceptable offering! ! —

20. P. 75. A conversation on the rights and liberties of men; especially the paragraph beginning, "It is the right, perhaps the duty, of every man, to defend his life, liberty, and property, and to kill or bind the attempters." Coleridge commented, in pencil, at the bottom of the page:

Here is a confusion — Tho' a man may kill or bind *in defence* of his property, it does not follow that he has & can convey a right to *punish* by killing or

[1] Or "whom."

binding [*along right margin:*] It is one thing to resist violence another to correct crime

21. P. 113. Brooke: "Then, turning toward me, Can you guess, my darling, said he, what you undertake to do for me?" Coleridge marked this with a cross, and wrote in pencil, at the bottom:

+ And this, it appears, was only 700 £. One instance among scores of Brooke's hyperbolic infirmity

22. P. 114. Brooke: "O dada, you would have pitied me sadly . . ." Coleridge more than once was amazed at Harry's generosity (see No. 25), and here wrote, in pencil, at the base:

Brooke carries this too far. It is the mawkishness of generosity, the dandyism of ostentation —

23. P. 127. When the niece of Mr. Ruth comes to announce the death of her father, Mrs. Ruth is quite terrified at the thought of their social elevation, and cries out: "It cannot be, it is impossible! Ours the title, ours the fortune! — O my God! — O my husband! — O my children! — and down she dropped." The passage ends Chapter XVI, and Coleridge marked it with a line and an "x," and wrote, in pencil, at the bottom:

x After all, the author lays greatest stress on title & fortune, the accession to which is able to produce such effects on pious people —

24. Pp. 142–43 (chap. xvii). Ned is restored to his rightful parents, and a woman's feigned deafness is uncovered. Coleridge put an "x" opposite and wrote, in ink, at the top:

x an inadequate excuse, I must say, for an imposture played by a newly regenerate Saint — a trick of the old trade not to [142 b.] mention the difficulty of Ned's presence — How *could she avoid recognizing him?* [*underscored, in pencil, with a comment inserted (likewise in pencil) close to the binding:*] five or six years had *past* [*continued in ink:*] and if she did, knowing him of course to be her Brothers Child, how or why should or could [143 t.] she suppress her delight — but as relieving the load of guilt from her mind, and removing the main obstacle of her Brothers forgiveness? [143 b.] But this is cold Criticism. The F. of Q. must be read as it was composed — i.e. as a delightful Dream! S. T. C.

25. P. 187. Paragraph, beginning "The company then rose and saluted Mr. Vindex," that immediately precedes the poem starting "And though divinely brought." Coleridge marked this passage, about more of Harry's untoward generosity, with a line and an "x," and wrote, in pencil, at the base:

I wish Brooke would have shewn us how to do good with a little — Harry lays about him at a rate that makes one ashamed of oneself — & one thinks, in spite, how easy it is to be generous with a million of money in ones pocket.

26. Pp. 198–202. A cross reference here, "See Vol 4 p. 42," suggests that Coleridge was rereading his Brooke. He penned quite a long criticism (beginning, margin, p. 198):

This is a problem not of so easy solution, as the amiable Writer, whose religious views were those of Jacob Behmen, appears [198 b.] to have considered it. He takes for granted that anger *always* supposes *fear;* but this is not true. There is a holy Anger, excited by the contemplation of a Will freely [199 t.] *determining itself to*$^{\oplus}$ *Evil, and an ingrate & rebel Hate of the Good & the Giver of all Good; & this Anger* so far from implying *precludeth* Fear, even [199 b.] in *men* — as in many of the old Christian Martyrs. Such Anger is a perfection of our Nature — & a feature in the Image of God. Why then is it incredible that in a [200 t.] transcendent form it should be affirmable of God in a form as transcendent to that in which it exists in the best of Men, as the [200 b.] divine Love transcends any Love, we can feel! And yet essentially Love must be Love, even as Truth is Truth. Were it otherwise all the attributes of God would become mere [201 t.] articulated sounds, not meaning what the *words* in all other instances mean, and without any other meaning, that we know of. Besides, every ground, on [201 b.] which the Author asserts *Anger* to be incompatible with God, would apply with equal if not greater force to Pity, Mercy, Justice — [202 t.] I have said, that Brooke was a Behmenist — but in this respect he has only skimmed the Cream and sweetmeats of Behmen's System — Jacob [202 b.] himself entertained far other and profounder views on this point. S. T. Coleridge [p. 199, still in ink, written lengthwise in right margin and referring to "a Will freely *determining itself to*$^{\oplus}$ *Evil*," above:] ⊕ Surely such a Will or Determination, bent upon its own misery, is an object of compassion, not of anger, even amongst men — how much more so in the eyes of God! A bad man is the most pitiable of all earthly objects —

27. P. 205. Two pages before the poem commencing, "Man comes into this passing world," Harry and Mr. Fenton again discuss man. Coleridge especially marked the passage, "Man, indeed, is now no better than the remains of man . . ." He wrote, in pencil, both at the bottom and crosswise in the margin:

Sometimes, to suit a purpose, this view is taken. At other times, all created things will be represented as made so as best to answer the objects of their existence — With [*right margin*] one an honest man is a noble work of God & whatever is is right With another, man is a kind of disgrace to his creator & the world a heap of rubbish —

28. P. 213. It is evident that Coleridge read with especial concern the long conversation of Harry and Mr. Fenton on Evil, Goodness, and Love (pp. 206 ff.). He marked many paragraphs here: "All other animals . . . "; "Take care, my Harry . . . "; "Here lies the eternal difference . . . "; "Remember, therefore, the distinction . . . "; "Love . . . is a giving . . ."; and "Self is a poor . . . avariciousness . . ." Putting an "x" opposite Mr. Fenton's remark, "You mistake this matter, my Harry," Coleridge wrote boldly, in ink, at the bottom:

+ No! Harry did *not* mistake; but the Author had not penetrated to the depth of the Mystery: tho' his Master, Jacob Behmen, had a glimmering & confused view of it.

29. P. 218. Mr. Fenton expresses to Harry the opinion that, had we been in Adam's place, we too should have fallen. Coleridge indicated this speech by an "x," and, in pencil, at the bottom of the page, commented:

x Surely much more readily, if Adam was in fact created so vastly superior in all respects to the present race of men as is suggested at p. p 205–6 —

30. P. 224. Brooke: "'Salus Populi — Public Safety — Security to the Persons and Properties of the People;' constitutes the whole of England's polity. Her empire is '*Imperium legum*, the sway of law;' . . . " Coleridge wrote, in ink, at the top:

This is either a barren Truism, or a very teeming Fallacy, according as the words are understood. The first, if physical [225 t.] Power be meant; the second, if the *Right* to demand obedience — i.e. Moral Power ⊕

[*Along the right margin of p. 225, in pencil:*]

⊕ In whom can the *right* to demand obedience reside but in the whole body or those authorities established & delegated by & for the benefit of the whole body — If not here, where will you find it except in the Divine right of Kings — and we have not got to *that* yet —

## Volume IV

31. Pp. 3–7. Harry gives his father's views of William III to Lord Portland: " . . . my father thinks . . . that he [the King] has attachments and views that look something further than the mere interests of the people by whom he has been elected; but he says that those views ought . . . to be indulged, in return of the very great benefits that he has done us . . . " Coleridge again puts his "x" here, and writes, in ink, at the bottom of the page:

x A common objection to W. III[rd] even among the Whigs; but in fact, it was one of that great & good man's excellencies, that he saw [4 t.] distinctly, that Great Britain must owe her elevation to, and preservation in, the first rank of nations, yea and as the primus inter [4 b.] primates, to her commercial, manufactory, and colonial superiority — and that such a nation, rather such an *empire*, could [5 t.] not have a separate interest from that of the great European Commonwealth of Nations. — that the maintenance of Continental Protestantism, [5 b.] and the full independence & vigor of North Europe, in counterpoise of France always & an antagonism to despotic R. Catholic [6 t.] France, was a vital interest of G. Britain. This the Tory semi-Jacobite high Church Squire Westerns of the Day were too stupid to [6 b.] see, and this even the Whigs, for the greater part, understood but partially. Williams, not fault, but deficiency & [7 t.] misfortune, was that he was not endowed with the power of communicating his superior wisdom to others [7 b.] persuasively, & in a way appropriate to the genius & character of the English of that age. But he was a truly great & good man.

32. P. 61. Some sixteen pages after interpolating the poem from Milton, commencing,

——— Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd,

Brooke wrote: "Things are defiled and corrupted throughout; they are distempered and devoted to death from the inmost essence of their being." Coleridge underscored the passage, marked it with a cross, and commented, in pencil, at the bottom:

x This I do not go along with. Death is Reproduction — The whole system is one of decay & reproduction — & why not? Why is not the cabbage or the man of today as good as the cabbage or man of 1000 years ago

33. P. 79. A long passage in Brooke concerning the divinity of Christ, as supported by Old Testament prophets, done with much formality: "FIRST . . . SECONDLY . . . THIRDLY . . . " Coleridge exclaimed (in pencil) with an "x" and commencing at the top of the page:

+ Sad should I be, were there no other & better proofs of the Eternity & Divinity of [79 b.] the Mediator, the Son of God incarnate in Christ Jesus, than this passage of a suspected Book! — & the texts from [80 t.] Isaiah, the truly evangelical Prophet, & of the authenticity of which there can be no [80 b.] rational doubt, is applied to our blessed Lord only by rhetorical accomodation. But why in the name of [81 t.] Common Sense, should a Christian look further than to the writings of John and [81 b.] Paul? In these the Divinity of Christ is the very ground and object of all their reasoning — it is asserted or implied in every chapter.

[*Along the right margin of p. 81, in pencil:*] S. T. C. is bold — To dispute the text from Daniel & Isaiah will seal his condemnation as effectually in the eyes of the thorough saint, as probably in S. T. C.'s eyes that of the sceptic is sealed who doubts of John & Paul

34. Pp. 127–28. Brooke on the salutary effects of suffering — marked by Coleridge with +; and on God's taking no delight in our suffering. Coleridge, in pencil, at the bottom:

+ If the "nosce te ipsum," if self-knowlege be, as it is, the ground of all true & profitable knowlege, then whatever draws us inward upon our own [128 t.] Spirits, cannot but be salutary. Now this is the effect of Suffering & Sorrow, as long as [128 b.] they do not exceed the degree that permits the exercise of thought and reflection. S. T. C.

35. Pp. 129–31. The foregoing conversation in a new strain: the nature of our bodies. Coleridge, in pencil, at the top of p. 130:

Brooke should have asked himself, what he meant by the Body? The ponderable visible particles of the Carcase? Or the organic [130 b.] and organific movements of the invisible Life? Music will produce symmetrical [131 t.] Figures in Sand — and the Sand is indispensable to the visibility of the Figures. But is the Sand the Music? the Tune? Every [*written down margin*] organic Body is a *Tune*, an Air or Scheme of Life.

36. Pp. 149–51. Harry casts himself on the grave of his beloved brother, Richard. Coleridge, in pencil, in the margin:

I cannot but think this unnatural.

Then at the bottom (still in pencil):

Indeed, the constant attempt to represent the Uncle himself as "a man wholly made up of Sorrows & killing griefs" [*evidently remembered from p. 137 of Vol. 4*] is the most objectionable feature of the Work. It savors [150 t.] too rankly of Moravian *Maudlinism* — it has a sickly musky bergamot smell. This and the extravagant overloaded Flattery to [150 b.] Harry, even in his own presence, are the Disease of this otherwise most exquisite Work — Nevertheless, this latter [151 t.] fault is so far a true portrait of Life, that of all flattery the mutual flattery of *religious* [151 b.] professors is the most *intense*. Never shall I forget the amoebean Eclogue between Miss Hannah More & an Evangelical Countess, which I heard during a Breakfast at M^rs^ More's!

37. P. 272. Brooke: "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, will then become co-embodied in this divine body." Coleridge, in pencil, down the margin:

This is not only transscriptural, but antiscriptural, I fear. Far, far too visual, too sensuously visual

# NOTES

## THREE RARE BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN

The Huntington Library is fortunate in the possession of two presumably unique books and a rare one that relate to a controversy about women, which was in full swing by the middle of the sixteenth century. The first is perhaps the most interesting, in view of its fulness of allusion and its acrostic forms. It is *A Dyalogue defensyue for women/ agaynst malycyous detractoures*. This fine, black-letter, quarto volume contains A–E4 in fours and was printed by Wyer for Richard Banckes in 1542. The poem, a curious piece, written in rhymed alliterative verse, has always been attributed to Robert Vaughan, but I think there is more than a possibility that it was the work of Robert Burdet. The Prologue was undoubtedly Vaughan's. It is addressed "To the ryght worshypfull and his synguler good maystres Arthur Hardberde/ Robert Vaghane sendeth moste harty gretynge," and proceeds:

> To you maystres Arthur, my seruyce premysed
> As reason of ryght, requyreth to recompence
> Your gentle herte, whiche hath nat despysed
> Afore this tyme, to take with beneuolence
> My wrytynges vnworthye, full of vayne sentence
> Whiche kyndnes consydered, good cause doth constrayne
> And dewty me dryueth, to do my dylygence
> With some small gyfte, for to requyte agayne.
>
> Your bownteous benygnytie, imboldeth my rudenes
> This treatyse folowynge, vnto you to dedycate
> Whiche to myne handes, occurryde doubtles
> As I on my Iourney, was rydynge but late
> By a frende of myne, with whom I was assocyate
> As by chaunce I alyghted, at a certayne place
> Whiche wylled me than, that I wolde algate
> Go forth and talke with hym, a lytell space.

Than secretly, he dyd vnto me com*m*yt
Agaynst detraction, this dyalogue defensyue
For the woman sakes, both necessary and fyt
Whan preuye reprehendeth, agaynst them lyst to stryue
Of whose vyce the circumstaunce, he playnely doth dyscryue
That throughe auaryce, the syn insacyable
Detractours swarme, as bees aboute an hyue
Where felonous flatery, to them is profytable.

I toke the volume, aud rede therin apase
And well perceyued at the fyrste syght
It was fayned in fauour, of one in your case
Howebeit I wolde nat aske hym, what she hyght
But vnto hym, I sayde anone full ryght
What is your mynde, that I herin do shall
For fayne I wolde, yf it lay in my myght
Your mynde accomplysshe, what soeuer befall.

I wolde sayde he, yf it your pleasure were
That you wolde vouchsaue, at my hande to take
This lytell smale volume, your name for to bere
Whose fantasye with faynynge, is set for to make
Lest slaunder perchaunce, his sharpe sowne out shake
To moue me malyce, whiche onely meane rest
Your name may cause, suche noyses to asslake
Therfore present it, where as you thynke best.

Than in my mynde, I thought that you were
Your cause consydered, and also your estate
Moste worthy to whom, I myght sende or bere
It to present, or els to dedycate
And because it declareth, howe the Pyes do prate
And what them causeth, suche pratynge to vse
I trust in God, it shall your mynde recreate
Throughe to rede it, yf you wyll nat refuse.

And of your thankes, to me I requyre
No parte at all, sens myne is nat the payne
But of your gentylnes, I humbly you desyre
That he may haue thankes, that labours doth sustayne

And as to my selfe, no thanke I wyll clayme
Sens thanke to payne, is euer consequent
Yet natwithstandynge, whyle lyfe doth remayne
Myne herte and seruyce, shall be at your com*m*aundement.

Though the modesty of authors at this time is apt to be a concession to convention, any doubt concerning Vaughan's statement that he was not responsible for the poem is removed, I think, by the following:

Robert Vaghane to the reader.

Rede gentyll Reader, all rygour set aparte
Onely with indyfferencye, ponder this argument
Be nat weyde with wylfulnes, ẏ ofte doth trewth subuarte
Enterlet no parcyallytye in iudgement
Remembre this rule, that Iustyce in election
Taketh no place in wyll nor affection.

Bende nat then in Iudgement, althoughe parchaunce
Vnto the hath be extended, a auncyent occasyon
Requyrynge agaynst women, to haue thy defyaunce
Do nat consent, to suche a lyght parswasyon
Euer consyder, it is a made affection
To iudge all vnparfyte, thoughe one lacke parfection.

Raylynge without reason, voyde of humanytye
Outragynge and lewde, for lacke of intellygence
Blynded throughe ygnoraunce, with mystes of sensualytye
Euermore the Pye, setteth out her sentence
Relatynge her malyce, by vniust accusacyon
This shall ye perceyue, by the Fawcons declaracyon.

Bestowe nat then thy laboure, to prate with the Pye
Vniustly accusynge, thy nowrysshe and mother
Rede and recorde, howe the Fawcon doth replye
Defendynge the femalles, with Aucthours one and other
Euermore aledged, and noted in the mergent
The gentyll reader, to satysfye and content.

It will be seen that the name Robert Burdet is given in acrostic form in these verses, and I believe that this is an indication that he was the actual author of the poem. He certainly wrote a broadside, which is preserved in the Heber collection at the Huntington Library, entitled, "The Refuge of a Sinner/ Wherein are briefely declared the chiefest Poinctes of true Saluation," printed by Richard Johnes, April 14, 1565. The *Dyalogue* adheres strictly to the conventional debate type and takes the form of a dialogue between a "Fawcon" and a "Pye," the latter maligning, and the former defending, women.

At the end of the *Dyalogue* are additional verses by Robert Vaughan, of a highly allusive character:

Robert Vaghane to the Fawcon.

Folowe? no O Fawcon, to faynte the with flyght
In pressynge thy pynyons, to punysshe the Pye
Syt styll sobrely, and thou shalt se with thy syght
The tyme that Innocentes, theyr owne trouth shall trye
Whan reason reygneth, that ryght wyll nat reprye
And plantyth Prudence, suche poyntes to ouer se
Than shall wauerynge fortune, her whele tourne awrye
And the pratynge Pyes, punysshed shall be.

One is tempted to read here the name Fitzwa[l]ter. His adversary may have been a certain Pike:

Robert Vaghane to the Pye.

Pyke the hence Pye, pyke the hence prater
Pyke the hence peuysshe, pyke the pyed Pye
Walke in the wanyond, and wayte for some water
To lyckar thy lyppes, that of lyinge are drye
Thy braggynge bostes, once shalt thou dere bye
Happe wyll so happen, I holde the a grote
Than far from thy countrey, thou wylt be fayne to flye
Or cowardly in couerte, go and chaunge thy cote.

The envoy to the poem serves to conceal the attractive name, "Margaret Vernon":

Lenuoy de Robert Vaghane.

Moue nat thy mynde, with crewell malyce
Agaynst thy detractours, O symple Innocence
Remembre howe prycketh them, the synne of auaryce
Gyuynge them boldenes, thou knowest by experyence
Acquaynt the therfore, with pearles pacyence
Requyre thou her, with the for to abyde
Euer to stande, and be in thy defence
Tyll suche a tyme, as thy trouth may be tryed.

Vexe nat thy vaynes, with vyolent hate
Expell from the, all enuye and yar
Receyue no ranker, for hurtynge thyne estate
Neuer from pacyence, flye thou for yar
Onely she is thy remedye
None other, but her knowe I Recure to be.

The second book, *The Schole house of women*, of uncertain date and authorship, abuses the sex vigorously and may possibly have inspired the above vindication by Vaughan or Burdet. There is an interesting allusion to this poem in Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, IV, 97. The full title of the presumably unique edition in the Huntington Library is:

*Here begynneth a lytle boke named the Schole house of women: wherin euery man may rede a goodly prayse of the condicyons of women. The yeare of our Lorde: M.D.XLi.*

This quarto volume, containing A–D in fours, was printed by Thomas Petit, but there is a discrepancy between the date given on the title-page and that in the colophon, the latter appearing as "M.D.LXi." According to Hazlitt, 1541 is more likely to be correct, for it is doubtful whether Petit printed later than 1554.

The anonymous author declares his purpose as reformatory zeal:

Go forth lytell booke, be not afrayde
To be accepte, with them that are wyse
And shewe them playne, what so be sayde

In any parte of this treatyse
Doth not dystayne, theyr honestyse
But for the lewde, myght haue a myrrour
Hereby to amende, theyr damnable errour.

Edward Gosynhyll has been suggested (e. g., Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, VII, X [1877, 1880]) as the author of this treatise, but the attribution is extremely doubtful in spite of the fact that there is a definite allusion to Gosynhyll in the following stanza:

A foole of late, contryued a booke
And all in prayse, of the femynye
Who so taketh labour, it to ouer loke
Shall proue, all is but flatterye
Pehan he calleth it, it may well be
The Pecocke is proudest, of his fayre tayle
And so be all women of theyr apparayle.

The "Pehan" is a reference to the third book under discussion, which is also accessible at the Huntington Library and of considerable rarity:

*The prayse of all women / called* Mulierum Pean. *Very fruytfull and delectable vnto all the reders. Loke & rede who that can. This boke is prayse to eche woman.*

It is a quarto volume, containing A–E in fours, and was printed by William Middleton at an uncertain date, possibly *circa* 1542.

There is a reference to the *Pean* in the *Schole house*, and, curiously enough, to the *Schole house* in these stanzas from the *Pean*:

A wake they sayde, slepe nat so fast
Consyder our grefe, and howe we be blamed
And all by a boke, that lately is past
Whiche by reporte, by the was fyrst framed
The scole of women, none auctour named
In prynte it is passed, lewdely compyled
All women wherby be sore reuyled.

Consyder therin, thyne owne good name
Consyder also our infamye
Sende forth some other, contrary the same

For thyne and ours, bothe honestye
The *Pean* thou wrote, and lyeth the bye
Be quycke herein, prolonge nat thus
As thou woldest our fauour, nowe do for vs.

Hazlitt (*op. cit.*, p. 105) suggests that probably Gosynhyll was dead when later versions of the *Schole house* appeared and that someone, not friendly to the original author, introduced variations into the text. But Hazlitt was not aware that the allusion to the *Pean* occurs in the Petit 1541 edition, which he did not examine.

That Gosynhyll was the author of the *Schole house* as well as of the *Pean* is greatly to be doubted, for, in the verses which form the envoy to the latter, not only does he spell his name (roughly) in the initial letters of the lines of each of the first three verses, but he also boldly announces it in the last stanza:

Yf question be moued who is thyne authour
Be nat addrad to vtter his name
Say Edwarde Gosynhyll toke the labour
For woman hede the for to frame
Call hym thyne authour, do nat asshame
Thankes lokes he none for, yet wold he be glad
[A[1]] staffe to stande by that all women had.

It is not likely that the author of the *Pean* would have been content, in the case of the *Schole house*, with the poor estate of anonymity.

Warton, in his *History of English Poetry* (1824 ed.; III, 426), states:

> In the year 1542, as it seems, Robert Wyer printed, "Here begynneth a lytell boke named the Scole Howse, wherein every man may rede a goodly Prayer of the condycyons of women."

It is to be noted that the title omits "of women" (after "Scole Howse") and substitutes "Prayer" for "prayse." There seems to be no trace of this edition.

Vaughan's, or rather Burdet's, effort was obviously, like Gosynhyll's, leveled against the author of the *Schole house*, which was, so to

[1] Now obliterated.

speak, the vortex of the controversy. Incidentally, both poems are a commentary on the sixteenth-century fad for acrostics, and point to the necessity for a careful examination of works of the period for possible concealed names.

BEATRICE WHITE

## "*THE TROUBLES OF QUEENE* ELIZABETH"

THE influence of Queen Elizabeth was deep-felt enough to be stamped on nearly all the literature of her time. Her approval or disapproval was in the minds of most authors. That she herself was of absorbing interest is evidenced, not only by the elegies and panegyrics directed to her, but also by the number of accounts of incidents in her life. One of the more popular of these deals with the time when she was Princess Elizabeth, and, with England, suffered under Mary. The Huntington Library possesses a number of items centering about these episodes. John Foxe, in his *Actes and Monuments* (1583 ed.[1]; II, 2091–97), recounts "The myraculous preseruation of Lady Elizabeth, now Queene of England, from extreme calamitie and danger of life, in the time of Q. Marie her sister." Holinshed "cannot ouerslip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox . . . concerning the mischeefous persecution and miraculous preseruation of ladie Elizabeth, now queene . . . " (*Chronicles* [1587], III, 1151b), and proceeds to copy Foxe verbatim. Other chroniclers — Camden, Speed, Stow — likewise give us some discussion of Elizabeth's vicissitudes, although their accounts have neither the dramatic quality nor the length of those by Foxe and Holinshed.

Closely connected with these chronicles is one of Thomas Heywood's plays. Part I appeared in 1605, bearing the title-page: "If you knovv not me, You know no bodie: Or, *The troubles of Queene* ELIZABETH. AT LONDON, Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1605." It was as popular as any of its author's many other plays (Heywood, in his *English Traveller*, said he had "either an entire hand, or at the least a maine finger" in two hundred and twenty dramas), for it passed

[1] This is the edition Holinshed followed, as he states in the margin of page 1152 of Vol. III of his *Chronicles* (1587): "These referencies by the page wheresoeuer they fall in this discourse of Q. Elizabeth are ment of the impression published 1583."

through editions in 1606, 1608, 1610, 1613, 1623, 1632, and 1639. In 1606, Part II of the chronicle history was published, and a passage in it reveals the source whence the two plays take their name.

Two pamphlets containing the same story also appeared. One, *England's Elizabeth*, printed in 1631, is by Heywood; the other, earlier, by Munday, is probably the source of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*. Munday's "A VVatch-vvoord *to Englande* To beware of traytours and tretcherous practises, which haue beene the ouerthrowe of many famous Kingdomes and common weales . . . LONDON Printed for *Thomas Hacket*, and *are to be solde at his shop in Lumberd streete, . . . 1584*" may be found in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Huntington Library. The copy in the Huntington Library is excellently preserved. It is an octavo volume, now bound in maroon morocco, containing 54 folios, of which 47 are numbered 1–47. The other seven are arranged as follows: title-page; a flyleaf containing, recto, a verse in Latin (too long to quote here) and a cut of the royal arms, and, verso, another Latin verse, of twelve lines, titled, "In laudem *Elyzabethæ* Reginæ," and signed "R. W." On the following leaf, recto and verso, is a dedication "To the high, mightie, and right excellent Princesse, Elyzabeth . . ." This "Epistle Dedicatorie," as the running head calls it, is signed "A. M." After this comes a seven-page epistle "To the right Honou-rable Master *Thomas Pullison*, Lord *Mayor . . . of London*." This, too, is subscribed "A. M." Then, on the recto of the following folio, begins the *Watch-woord*, commencing on numbered folio 1. From 17v to 32v Munday presents the account of Elizabeth's "myraculous preseruation," elaborately labeling it: ". . . which troublesome time of her Graces suffering, I have heerto annexed, according as it is set downe by that worthy man Maister Iohn Fox in his Actes and Monuments . . ." So much for the bibliographical description of the little-known work.

Let us now examine the genealogy, as it were, of the story of Elizabeth's troubles. At the head of the family tree stands the work of Foxe. Holinshed and Munday hasten to tell us they have copied him verbatim. The differences are never of word or phrase, but only of spelling and punctuation, as in the sentence, "After this passing a little further, she sate downe vpon a cold stone & there rested her selfe" (Foxe, p. 2092b), which Holinshed (p. 1153b) renders, "After

this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe," and Munday (f. 21), "After this, passing a little furder, she sate downe vpon a colde stone, and there rested her selfe."

The dramatic form of Heywood's account necessarily prohibits its word-for-word identification with the chronicles; but his direct dependence upon one or another of them, or upon all three, can be made obvious. Not only does he make use of the material in the chronicles, but he also carefully follows the order of events as given there. Occasionally he even goes so far as to borrow his sources' wording. One scene, that of Elizabeth's removal to the Tower, will illustrate this. Let us watch the order of events. First Elizabeth casts "a pitious eie" (in Heywood) to the Queen's window; so in Foxe, Munday, and Holinshed. Next is the report of the bargemen's haste and disaster; the narrative in the histories corresponds. Then, in the drama and the sources alike, Elizabeth refuses to land at the Traitors' gate and wets her shoe. Now comes a slight change of order: in Heywood, Sussex requests a chair for the Princess, and then offers her his cloak; in the chronicles, "one of the Lordes which shall be nameles . . . offred to her his cloke," and, "after this passing a little further, she sate downe vpon a cold stone & there rested her selfe." In the play, Elizabeth then laments, "But better heere, than in a worser place VVhere this bad man will lead me"; in the histories, "she then replieng, answered againe: better sitting here then in a worse place: for God knoweth, I know not whether you wyll bring me." All conclude the scene with Elizabeth's asking for her book: Heywood — "Clarentia, reach my booke"; Foxe — ". . . she called to her Gentlewoman for her booke."

Almost the entire play is equally close to its sources. Of the twenty-four scenes, sixteen are taken directly from Foxe-Holinshed-Munday, or elaborated from hints found there. The other eight scenes (1, 2, 4, 6, 20, 22, 23, 24), together with parts of three others (13, 15, 21) and the dumb shows, are still to be accounted for. Scenes 1 and 4 could have been found in any chronicle, as could the idea of 2, although the latter is most fully given in Foxe. The sixth scene is introduced to show the loyalty felt toward Elizabeth, even by the soldiers set to guard her; it expresses the sympathies of the people with the Princess. Scene 20 is likewise inserted purely for atmosphere. Clarentia is fearful of her mistress's future, and her worried conversation with Gage

has a striking dramatic effect but is not historical. Heywood makes the dumb shows serve the same purpose as his choruses — a device for passing over events rapidly. The first and third could have been found in any chronicle, and the second might have gained its inspiration from Foxe-Holinshed-Munday. As for scenes 22, 23, and 24, there is no such elaboration of events in any of the chronicles. In George Whetstone's *English Myrrour* (1586; Book 2, p. 132), Elizabeth is given a Bible by the Mayor of London, but her speech of acknowledgment bears no resemblance to the version in the play. Heywood, then, might easily have written his entire drama without drawing his material from any other sources than Foxe, Holinshed, or Munday, provided we credit him with the creation of certain scenes used to develop character. He might have gone to any one of the three sources or to all of them; the argument here is that he went to Munday's work, or, if to that of either of the others, with Munday as a guide.

Little enough is actually known of the personal relations of the two men. There is slightly more evidence on their business contacts; and, since "business" meant either acting or play writing, this is also evidence of their literary association. On folio 231 of Henslowe's *Diary*, for instance, we find that Heywood and Munday were employed by the diarist in the Admiral's company of players. Anthony Munday's name, together with the names of other actors, is subscribed to a note in favor of "Thomas Hawoode." We find that, later, Heywood and Munday were also members of Worcester's company. Their association with the two companies may well indicate a certain amount of personal friendship, which would have tended to unite the two men closely in their literary work. And, indeed, such an association finds substantiation from another direction.

In 1593, Munday, Heywood, and Chettle collaborated in *Sir Thomas More*, and Munday was probably responsible for the outline of the play. We know that Heywood copied some of Munday's work and rewrote other parts of it. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that Munday, the more practiced writer, had considerable interest in Heywood, especially as Munday had helped another young friend and collaborator, Dekker. Heywood and Munday turned to extensive play writing about the same time (1598). In 1602 Munday left the theater. It is therefore in the intervening years that the two men

were most closely associated. For another of his plays, *A Warning For Fair Women*, Heywood drew on material Munday had already assembled, in 1580, for his *View Of Sundry Examples*.

Accordingly, it is not difficult to imagine that Heywood, suddenly needing a subject for a chronicle play, would have been guided by his friend Munday to the *Watch-woord*, and, having found there material so well suited to his own ideas, would have returned to it later. Managers generally demanded plays on very short notice; material already plotted was, therefore, almost essential, and Heywood's habit was to use it. Why should he seek far for it? Munday may even have had a considerable hand in the planning of the play, although this cannot be proved, since only "the most corrupted copy" is now available, and very little of a bibliographical nature can be deduced from it.

In conclusion, it may be urged that Heywood must have used Foxe, or Holinshed, or Munday, but the probabilities all point to the last named. He and Heywood were in the same company of players and were associated in business for four years. Heywood had written one play based on a pamphlet by his friend. Guided, then, by his more experienced comrade, Heywood turned to that comrade's work, and produced a popular drama on his Queen's troubles.

Mary Isabel Fry

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